The Nation

July 25-August 1, 1981 $1.25

TN PRISE TEN 00940629 JUL 1 01
PERIODICALSDEPT
THE SHERROD LIBRARY
E TENNESSEE ST UNIV
JOHNSON CITY TENN
** JUL 23 1981 37614

EDITORIAL

# COURTING WOMEN

Politics is such a boisterous business that some of its most telling ironies can go unnoticed. Consider President Reagan's nomination of Sandra Day O'Connor to the Supreme Court. In the general satisfaction—which we share—over the selection of a woman, no one seems to have noticed that in choosing Judge O'Connor, President Reagan has overridden some fundamental conservative principles and a basic policy of his Administration: For the highest court in the land he has picked a person, barely qualified for the post, almost entirely because of her sex and not on the basis of individual merit.

Despite the many kind words of her friends, Judge O'Connor's record is not even close to Supreme Court quality. She was not an exceptional lawyer or legal scholar, nor is she an outstanding judge. The Arizona Bar rates her performance as rather poor. In a 1980 State Bar of Arizona poll, lawyers ranked her eighth among ten appellate judges, and in earlier years she scored no better as a trial judge. Although undeniably intelligent and hard-working, she has had no experience with the constitutional and statutory problems that routinely come to the Supreme Court, nor even with more mundane kinds of Federal law. Her work as a state trial and intermediate appellate judge has focused on routine local matters like landlord-tenant, worker's compensation and criminal law. Nor was her prior legislative experience Federal.

Nevertheless, Judge O'Connor could become a fine Justice. Like so many other beneficiaries of affirmative action, she may make a great deal out of the unexpected opportunity. And the absence of a woman from the Supreme Court is disgraceful. But the next time affirmative action comes under attack, its critics should ponder well the example set by the nation's number-one champion of "individual merit."

AGEE'S PASSPORT
Stephen Gillers

WOMEN AND THE DRAFT
Mim Kelber

THE CZECHS CRACK DOWN
Jiri Wyatt

WEINBERGER'S BUDGET REQUESTS
Thomas Downey

CBS DEFENSE SERIES
Thomas Powers

NOWHERE TO TURN

# ADDING UP THE UNEMPLOYED

JOHN EHRENREICH

The Reagan Administration in its first six months in office has broken sharply with several principal tenets of American social and economic policy that go back to the New Deal. It has implicitly denied that it is the Federal government's responsibility to respond directly to social needs through transfers of income and direct provision or subsidization of services ("social policy" in the narrow sense of the words). It has also abandoned Keynesian intervention in the economy to insure relatively full employment and low rates of inflation.

Liberals and radicals have responded with anguish to both policy reversals, adopting candidate George Bush's characterization of the supply-side fetish as "voodoo economics" and bemoaning the devastating effects on the poor of the impending cutbacks in social services and income maintenance programs.

The critique of Reagan-era domestic policy is limited, however, by a failure to appreciate the linkages between economic and social policy. In these linkages lie some of Reaganism's greatest sources of political vulnerability. Some of these links are obvious: Direct income transfers are a way of injecting extra purchasing power into the economy, and Federal spending for social services, education and health care provides jobs for millions of workers, whose wages, in turn, help stimulate the economy. But the connection is more profound than this. Economic policy and social policy are not merely complementary approaches to meeting social needs. Social policy has been built into economic policy and economic policy has been built into

(Continued on Page 81)

ETSU LIBRARY
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# LETTERS.

## REAL CRIMINALS AND REAL FEAR

*New York City*

This past year, four of my friends were sexually attacked and two were mugged; the year before, a neighbor was raped on the fire stairs by a man who committed several other local rapes as well; the year before *that*, I saw one man kill another with a handgun in a crowded subway car. Somehow I suspect these events have more to do with my considerable fear of crime than media hype or slanted questionnaires, as Julie Lewin suggests ["Figgie II: Crime Fear in the Suites," *The Nation*, July 4]. Perhaps they also account for the trouble I have with Sue Halpern's equation of American prisons with the Russian gulag ["Notes From Our Gulag," July 4].

That crime is bred by racism and poverty, that jails are horrible places, that fear of crime can be used to manipulate the electorate rightward are all true. But so is the fact that high crime rates have devastated urban life, especially for the poor (they, not the rich executives Lewin pokes fun at, are the most frequent victims of crime), and that many criminals are violent, dangerous people who have got to be kept away from the rest of us. Lewin writes about crime as though it were taking place on another planet. Halpern, I note, is at Oxford, in whose peaceful cloisters one might conceivably come to imagine that there are no big differences between an American street criminal and a Russian dissident.

When are progressives going to recognize that criminals terrify, hurt and kill real people, not just symbols of their own oppression? I wonder at the priorities of a magazine that runs two pieces minimizing the crazy, gratuitous, *macho* violence that disfigures city life in the very same issue that Alan Wolfe laments the endemic American worship of violence exemplified by gun clubs and combat magazines ["Magazine Merchants of Death"]. Apparently, *The Nation* feels one has more to fear from a *Soldier of Fortune* reader than from a hood with a knife. On the newsstands, maybe; in the real world, no way.

*Katha Pollitt*

**COMING SOON**

An exchange on Jacobo Timerman, the Argentine junta, anti-Semitism and the American Jewish community:

Henry Siegman

Benno Weiser Varon

Aryeh Neier

## CAREY, NOW MORE THAN EVER

*New York City*

What a pleasure to read Carey McWilliams again ["Carey's Warning," *The Nation*, June 27]. We need his prescient voice now, as well as what it represents: proof that such a "radical" often has a way of becoming the voice of reason a few short years (or in this case months) later.

I was Carey's editor on his last book, *The Education of Carey McWilliams*, and feel special sorrow that just as I was getting to know him, he was gone.

*Jonathan Segal*
*Summit Books*

## SPREADING THE BLAME

*New York City*

Contrary to your editorial comment ["Pre-Emptive Madness," *The Nation*, June 20], no Israeli government requires the encouragement of Reagan's confrontationism to attack facilities that can make nuclear weapons held by an enemy who has persisted since 1948 in an implacable state of war and who recently declared (to Iran) its intention to use the weapons against Israel.

There is blame enough to spread around, as you say, but you reserve it wholly for Washington and Israel. It is France that supplied enriched uranium, capable of making a bomb; this distinguishes Iraq's facility from the more than 100 reactors inspected by the International Atomic Energy Agency. Italy supplied equipment that can separate plutonium from reactor fuel. And both Italy and Portugal supplied uranium under conditions that do not insure its return after use. All this to a country brimming with oil!

Successive Israeli governments have made so many mistakes that even so elemental an act, coming after long efforts to dissuade the French and Italian governments from their course, is too easily not comprehended. Indeed, electoral opportunism—and preference for partition in Lebanon (one of the many differences between Washington and Israel you ignore)—may have played a role. If so, let this be added to the long and heavy list of Israel's errors, and suitable words framed for the purpose. Your words, however, are very far from suitable. They have no claim to the attention of those who are the targets of Iraq's nuclear weapons.

*Allan Silver*

## CORRECTIONS

*We inadvertently attributed the art in the July 11-18 issue to Arnold Roth. The drawings were actually the work of Tony Auth. The drawings in* this *issue are by Arnold Roth.*

*We should also note that E.L. Doctorow's "Art Funding for the Artist's Sake" [July 4], his testimony on that subject before Congress, was given on behalf of American PEN.*

*—The Editors*

## SYRIA AND KISSINGER

*Washington, D.C.*

Stanley Reed's article on Assad's Syria is a timely piece ["Little Brother & the Brotherhood," *The Nation*, May 16]. Reed is a very competent journalist, and the article will be especially useful to the well-educated and nonspecialist readership of *The Nation*.

The editors missed an opportunity to provide a neat transition from Christopher Hitchens's gauche and trifling bit on Henry Kissinger and other villains ["Understatements"] to Reed's more substantial offering, which began on the following page. It could have been done by insisting that Reed describe how Kissinger's checkbook diplomacy mucked up Lebanon and most of the rest of the Levant by making it possible for Assad to dispatch those 20,000 troops on their infamous "peacekeeping" mission.

The opportunity that Kissinger provided was for Assad to retrieve, for his and Syria's greater glory, a valued, lamented slice of irredenta. This is the Bekaa Valley, taken by the French from Syria in 1920 to create *Le Grand Liban*, creating the confessional balance, Moslem-Christian, which allowed the Quai d'Orsay to carry out a classical exercise of divide and conquer until 1943. Kissinger's hubris and ignorance are major factors in the present Syrian-Lebanese tragedy. Reed should have mentioned this.

Reed also speaks of the Moslem Brotherhood as if it were a recent phenomenon, instead of a factor in Syrian politics that antedates the Baath Party. He missed the assassination of the Brotherhood's exiled leader, in Aachen, a month or so before his article appeared. He also missed the Syrian kidnapping of the second most important Brotherhood leader, in Beirut, which was undone—with Shaikh Zuhair Al-Shanish returned from a Syrian torture chamber to his home in a Christian quarter of Beirut—after the intervention of King Hassan of Morocco and King Khalid of Saudi Arabia. But Reed should not feel bad—the State Department missed it too.

*Joseph J. Malone, President*
*Middle East Research*
*Associates, Inc.*

## EXPOSING CORPORATE INFLUENCE

*West Cornwall, Conn.*

In the mid-1960s, investigators uncovered and exposed the fact that many respectable, even liberal, institutions—notably the National Student Association, Praeger Publishers and *Encounter* magazine—received direct or indirect aid from the Central Intelligence Agency. This exposure made an important contribution to breaking the hold of the "Cold War consensus" on U.S. intellectuals and students. David Noble and *The Nation*,

(*Continued on Page 84*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CONTENTS.

Volume 233, Number 3

COVER
Editorial: Courting Women
Nowhere to Turn:
Adding Up the Unemployed — *John Ehrenreich*

LETTERS
66

EDITORIALS
67 Reasoning Not the Need — *Stephen Gillers*
69 Guatemalan Reversal
69 Changes
70 *Dispatches* — *Elizabeth Farnsworth and Stephen Talbot*

ARTICLES
72 Women and the Draft:
Combat in the Erroneous Zone — *Mim Kelber*
74 Quarantining Polish Reforms:
Show Trials Return to Prague — *Jiri Wyatt*
76 More is Less:
The Indefensible Budget — *Thomas Downey*
77 Greyhound Bus Strike:
Driving Workers Wild — *Andrew Hjelmeland*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
85 CBS Reports:
The Defense of the United States — *Thomas Powers*
86 Prince Buu-Hoi's Watch (poem) — *John Balaban*
87 Brickner: Tickets — *Richard Pollak*
89 Theater — *Richard Gilman*
90 Mekelle Road, 1974 (poem) — *Jestyn Portugill*
91 Films — *Robert Hatch*

Drawings by Arnold Roth

*Editor,* Victor Navasky

*Executive Editor,* Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editor,* Kai Bird; *Assistant Editor,* Amy Wilentz; *Literary Editor,* Richard Pollak; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Elena Brunet; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Editor,* Janet Gold; *Assistant Copy Editors,* Barbara Dudley Davis, Judith Long; *Editorial Assistant,* Eric Etheridge; *Editorial Secretary,* Ola Lyon.

*Departments: Architecture,* Jane Holtz Kay; *Films,* Robert Hatch; *Music,* David Hamilton; *White House Correspondent,* Robert Sherrill. *Correspondents: Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Variations*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*), Elizabeth Farnsworth & Stephen Talbot (*Dispatches*). *Contributing Editors,* Blair Clark, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Robert Lekachman, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

*The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

*Publisher,* Hamilton Fish

*Advertising Manager,* Carole Kraemer; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Gertrude Silverston; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Assistant to Publisher,* Laurie Lipper; *Circulation Manager,* Suzanne Noell; *Subscription Manager,* Stephen King; *Classified,* Deborah Kriger; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Nation Associates,* Claudine Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen; *Publishing Consultant,* Jack Berkowitz; *Circulation Consultant,* Paul Goldberg.

*The Nation* (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1981 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011. Tel.: 212-242-8400. *Subscription Mail Address:* Nation Subscription Service, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

*Regular Subscription Price:* One year, $30; two years, $50; six months, $15. Add $5 per year postage for Canada and Mexico; $7 other foreign. All foreign subscriptions must be paid in equivalent U.S. funds. **Please allow 5-7 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: *The Nation,* Subscription Services, P.O. Box 1953, Marion, Ohio 43305.

# EDITORIALS.

## Reasoning Not The Need

Philip Agee had a passport. The State Department took it away, saying that U.S. national security was in danger while Agee was free to roam the world. Agee went to court. On June 29, the Supreme Court ruled for the State Department. To protect national security, the Court said, the government may pass reasonable regulations that "curtail" the constitutional freedom to travel abroad. Of course, Agee's freedom to travel abroad was not curtailed. It was denied altogether. But so be it.

The Court's ruling received much press attention. Civil libertarians complained, as they should have. But the Court's ruling is not the most remarkable part of its opinion. The way it arrived at its ruling and what its reasoning may do to constitutional law are significantly more disturbing than the ruling itself. In fact, the reasoning and the language are so out of line that the case may simply go down as something dashed off on the way to summer vacation. Let's hope so.

In 1979, Agee, a former agent for the Central Intelligence Agency and author of *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, living in West Germany, was informed that his passport had been revoked under a State Department regulation permitting this sanction if the Secretary of State determines that a citizen's activities abroad "are causing or are likely to cause serious damage to the national security or the foreign policy of the United States." Agee could return to the United States, but he would not be able to leave again; with-

The Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
JUL 23 1981

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out a passport, travel outside West Germany would be difficult.

The State Department regulation was issued under the presumed authority of the Passport Act, which gives the Secretary of State power to grant passports "under such rules as the President shall designate." Nothing in the act says the President can deny or revoke a passport because a citizen's activities are causing or are likely to cause damage to the national security or foreign policy of the nation.

Philip Agee had several choices. He could have stayed in West Germany and made do without a passport. He could have accepted an administrative hearing, at which he might have contested the finding that his activities caused or were likely to cause damage to national security. Court review would then follow. Or he could have challenged the revocation in court without a prior hearing.

Agee's lawyers chose the third alternative, but in doing so they seemed to be conceding the accuracy of the Secretary's conclusion that Agee was a danger to national security. This they did, thereby avoiding the administrative hearing, which Agee might well have concluded he'd lose, and enabling a clean test of the statutory and constitutional authority to revoke (or deny) a passport on national security grounds. Agee was not actually admitting that his conduct damaged national security. He was saying that even if it did, the Secretary did not have the power to revoke his passport.

Agee's first contention was that the Passport Act did not authorize the Secretary to revoke a passport for national security reasons. Even if Congress could grant that power, in fact it had not. The lower courts accepted this view, but the Supreme Court disagreed.

Agee argued, unsuccessfully, that the Secretary's mere assertion of the authority, coupled with its sparse exercise, was not enough to justify an inference of Congressional approval (through silence) of a rule that restricted the constitutional right of international travel. More was needed. Agee cited *Kent* v. *Dulles*, a 1958 case in which the Court, without reaching the constitutional question, refused to infer Congressional authority for a State Department regulation denying passports to Communists. But Chief Justice Warren Burger found *Kent* unavailing because Agee's actions—public identification of C.I.A. employees abroad—were more "damaging" than simple membership in a political party. And Agee was not merely speaking his beliefs. He was engaging in "conduct" presenting "a serious danger to American officials abroad and serious danger to the national security," as Agee himself had conceded for purposes of his test case. Under these circumstances, Congressional approval for the Secretary's regulation was inferred.

Justice William Brennan's dissent, joined by Justice Thurgood Marshall, mainly disagreed with the Court's willingness to infer Congressional authorization for the regulation. But although the issue of Congressional approval takes up the bulk of the two opinions, a single sentence in the final part of the Chief Justice's analysis, dealing with the constitutionality of the rule, is most disconcerting.

The Court has previously demanded a strong showing of governmental need before a law would be allowed to interfere with a constitutional right. Words like "compelling" and "significant" have been repeatedly used by the Court to describe the government's purpose before it may curtail a right found in the Constitution. And the government is rarely able to carry that burden. On the other hand, where constitutional rights are not at issue, as for example in the area of economic regulation, the Court is substantially more deferential. It is for the other branches of government or the states to determine nonconstitutional policy. If their conclusions are reasonable and not arbitrary, the Supreme Court will not second-guess them.

Freedom to travel abroad is constitutionally protected. Even in Agee's case, the Court agreed that this freedom was part of the "liberty" which the Fifth Amendment's due process clause protects. We would then expect that before the government may deny this constitutional liberty outright —as passport revocation does—it should have a compelling need to do so. But the Court did not say this. It lowered the standard dramatically. Governmental regulation of the "freedom to travel outside the United States" need only be "reasonable" when "national security or foreign policy considerations" are invoked. Although the Court went on to say that no governmental interest is more "compelling" than its own security, the earlier statement of reasonableness as alone sufficient to justify passport revocation or denial stands as a mighty weapon that can be used by an administration wishing to keep its critics at home. This is not speculation. Asked during oral argument whether the Secretary of State could deny a passport to a citizen wishing to go to El Salvador to criticize American policy there, the Solicitor General replied, "I would say, yes, he can."

How did the Chief Justice justify using a low standard of review (reasonableness) when the right involved was admittedly constitutionally protected? He relied on a Social Security case. In 1978, the Court upheld Congress' power to deny Supplemental Security Income (S.S.I.) to a recipient who was outside the United States for a month or more. The recipient argued that the law violated his right of international travel. The Court disagreed. The law did "not limit the availability or validity of passports." The recipient was free to travel abroad. He simply could not get his S.S.I. check while away. Since the social and economic policies advanced by the law were "rationally based," they were valid.

In the *Agee* opinion, the deference the Court gave Congress in the S.S.I. case was absorbed into the constitutional rights area, with the result that the executive branch is now permitted to ban travel abroad so long as it has a reasonable national security or foreign policy "consideration." Notably, the Chief Justice did not quote the language in the S.S.I. case about not limiting the availability of passports.

The Court's traverse was accompanied by an interesting and new distinction. While it is true that what Agee claimed was a "freedom" within the "liberty" protected by the Fifth Amendment, the Court said, it was a "freedom" only, not a "right." Protection could therefore be less. The idea that the Constitution contains both "freedoms" and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"rights," with different degrees of protection for each, is radically new. Insofar as it suggests varying levels of constitutional guarantees, its implications are disturbing. Is "freedom" of speech a "freedom" or a "right"? What about privacy, the foundation for the reproductive-freedom cases? Is privacy a "right," or only a "freedom"?

The dangers in the Court's opinion are mitigated in large part by the breadth of its language. Opinions like the one in *Agee* are often eventually severely limited. The notion that the government can prevent a citizen from traveling abroad so long as it has some national security or foreign policy reason to do so is such a remarkable break with tradition and our view of what liberty is that the *Agee* opinion, if examined too closely, begins to fall apart from the weight of its own casual language. In dissent, Justice Brennan said he thought the Court's decision exemplified the adage that "bad facts make bad law." The facts were "bad" from the point of view of testing the power at issue. While the case no doubt reflects a loss for civil liberties and a gain for public power, its hyperbolic language is more readily explained by the Court's dislike of Agee and his activities than by rigorous analysis. Cases so decided do not become collector's items.

STEPHEN GILLERS

*Stephen Gillers teaches at New York University Law School.*

# Guatemalan Reversal

On June 5, the United States secretly lifted its embargo on military aid to Guatemala. By means of some quick linguistic redefinitions, the State Department quietly declared that Army jeeps and trucks were no longer "lethal" weapons and therefore could be shipped to Guatemala. Congress had previously placed a four-year ban on the sale of such weaponry to the Central American nation on the ground that the country had grievously violated the human rights of its citizens. In addition, the State Department has now reclassified as "non-lethal," and therefore available to Guatemala, arms-manufacturing machinery, equipment for the production of military explosives and components for ammunition.

These extraordinary measures will permit the brutal regime of Gen. Romeo Lucas García, considered the worst offender of human rights in the Western Hemisphere, to purchase 100 jeeps and fifty two-and-one-half-ton trucks, as well as more than $2 million worth of "spare parts" for Huey helicopters of the sort used in Vietnam. The American arsenal is ostensibly to be used to augment the government's fight against "Communist" rebels, but most diplomatic and Latin experts expect the regime to throw its fresh supplies into its campaign to exterminate Guatemalan centrists, a crusade which has claimed 25,000 lives in the past fifteen years.

News of this Administration action only came to light because the Council on Hemispheric Affairs in Washington, D.C., made a random inquiry to the Commerce Department concerning its latest export licenses. The Reagan Administration buried the notice to avoid igniting another controversy over its policies in Central America, having already triggered an uproar by its dispatch of "advisers" to El Salvador.

The consequences of this policy are alarming. First, the State Department, without any debate in Congress, is whittling down its list of proscribed military items to free more armaments for "authoritarian" regimes like that in Guatemala. Second, the aid itself constitutes a severe blow to democracy within Guatemala. Vinicio Cerezo, the secretary general of the Christian Democratic Party and the most popular politician in the nation, will probably boycott the 1982 presidential election, which he could undoubtedly win, because the government will not guarantee his physical safety (assassins have tried to kill him three times during the past two years) or assure a fair vote count (elections in 1974 and 1978 were patently fraudulent). The United States, however, did not barter its resumption of military aid in exchange for such guarantees.

Finally, in reversing the policy of no weapons for Guatemala, the Reagan Administration has sent a signal to all of Latin America that it is no longer concerned about human rights. And the introduction of American arms into northern Central America is also likely to incite a new flow of guns to the rebels from sympathizers in Mexico, Venezuela, Cuba and Europe, thereby raising the level of violence in the struggle and dashing hopes for an early settlement in Guatemala.

That this is merely the latest in a long list of indignities we have visited on Guatemala's democratic forces, beginning with the terrorism of 1954 [see Stephen Schlesinger, "How Dulles Worked the Coup d'Etat," *The Nation*, October 28, 1978], diminishes neither the cynicism of our new policy nor its destructive potential. The whole sordid story is told in an important book, *Bitter Fruit: The Untold Story of the American Coup in Guatemala* by Stephen Kinzer and Stephen Schlesinger, to be published this winter by Doubleday & Co. In the meantime, key liberals and moderates in Congress have been strangely silent about the new Reagan approach, thereby letting the Administration off the hook and letting down the cause of liberalism in Central America.

# Changes

The departure this month of Patsy Dowling, who has been a member of *The Nation*'s copy department for thirteen years and Copy Editor for the past three, gives us, at last, a chance to praise her publicly for her special combination of courtesy and diligence and for the high standards of her work, and especially to mention the affection she inspired here. We also want to welcome our new Copy Editor, Janet Gold, formerly an Associate Editor of *New Times* magazine and a graduate of Barnard College and Cooper Union.

ETSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# DISPATCHES.

## ■ CAMBODIA: Tensions at the Fringes

This month's United Nations conference on Cambodia, boycotted by Vietnam, pointed up the difficulties of arriving at a diplomatic solution to that conflict. China, for example, has always argued that the search for a political solution is premature, even undesirable. The Vietnamese respond only to force, say Chinese diplomats, and, anyway, this conflict is bleeding Vietnam and the Soviet Union, so why resolve it? Meanwhile, Peking has continued to aid the forces fighting the Vietnamese, above all the Khmer Rouge.

And there's the rub. For the Vietnamese, the Khmer Rouge are not only mass murderers but also proxies for the Chinese. "We will leave Cambodian soil the day after the cessation of the threat from China against Cambodia and Vietnam," Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach said last month, adding that for the Vietnamese, the Khmer Rouge represent the "Chinese threat" in Cambodia. China served as the Khmer Rouge's main source of aid during Pol Pot's reign of terror in the mid-1970s and still provides some 40,000 Khmer Rouge guerrillas with large amounts of military equipment, including thousands of machine guns and rifles and tons of ammunition.

Recently the Chinese have also granted some military equipment to the anti-Communist Khmer Serei, led by former Prime Minister Son Sann, who has been negotiating with Prince Norodom Sihanouk and Khmer Rouge leaders on the formation of a Cambodian "united front." The Chinese have backed this development and lobbied Washington to aid Son Sann's forces too. But this would amount to aid for the Khmer Rouge, since they would field 95 percent of the soldiers and arms in any united front and would inevitably control it.

Chinese diplomats say their policies are not aimed at dealing the Vietnamese a military defeat in Cambodia, which they view as impossible at this stage. Rather, the aid for the Khmer Rouge and other groups is aimed at draining Vietnam and, by extension, its Soviet allies. "It's a pity that some people have illusions about compromise over Cambodia," an "influential Chinese" in Peking told *The Christian Science Monitor* last month. "We think that from a global, strategic point of view, there is no need to settle this problem in an urgent way. The Soviets have this burden on their shoulders. We don't want to relieve them of it."

Chinese leaders view Cambodia and Afghanistan as areas where they can exacerbate what one Chinese diplomat in their Washington embassy called "tensions at the fringes of the Soviet empire." More than getting the Vietnamese out of Cambodia, China wants Vietnam weakened and its ties with the Soviet Union strained. No longer merely a "sideshow," Cambodia is increasingly a central arena for big-power conflict.

## ■ SCANDINAVIA: Nuclear-Free Zone?

The Reagan Administration is disturbed by Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev's latest proposal for a Nordic nuclear-free zone and by the relatively positive response they've received in Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland.

Brezhnev floated the idea in an interview with a Finnish newspaper, hinting that the Russians might be willing to withdraw nuclear weapons from their own territory in the area as part of the creation of a nonnuclear zone. Finland's Foreign Minister, Paavo Vayrynen, said Brezhnev's comments "must be seen as a constructive and positive contribution in the discussion concerning a Nordic area free from nuclear weapons." And Sweden's Prime Minister, Thorbjorn Falldin, said the Soviet proposal was "a welcome new element." In neutral Finland and pacific Sweden, where all five major Swedish political parties had earlier endorsed the idea of a nuclear-free zone, these comments were not unexpected. But official reaction in Norway and Denmark, both members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, was also fairly receptive to Brezhnev's suggestion.

The non-Soviet Nordic area is actually already free of nuclear weapons, although Norway and Denmark reserve the right to introduce such weapons in the event of war. For Norway, which borders on the Soviet Union's heavily nuclear-armed Kola Peninsula, acceptance of the no-nukes proposal is contingent on Soviet withdrawal of its missile sites and its nuclear submarine bases. This would be a significant Soviet concession. The Swedes have talked about going further and banning Soviet nuclear submarine patrols in the Baltic Sea.

After his recent mission to Moscow, former West German Chancellor Willy Brandt, now president of the Socialist International, said he was encouraged by the Soviet proposal. He was denounced by West German conservatives, who argued that Brandt had become a "danger to NATO," while West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and France's new President, François Mitterrand, were busy in Bonn reaffirming their mutual commitment to the nuclear "security" of NATO and to continuing French weapons production. On the other hand, the growing nuclear disarmament movement in Europe views the official declaration of a Nordic nuclear-free zone as an important step toward what British antinuclear campaigner E.P. Thompson envisions as a European "theater of peace" [see Thompson, "A Letter to America," *The Nation*, January 24].

## ■ MEXICO: Petroleum Politics

Mexican economic planners had counted heavily on raising oil production this year and keeping prices stable; instead, the glut of oil on the world market has forced Mexico to reduce prices and production. The result: Mexican oil policies are in disarray and politicians are scurrying to limit domestic political damages. Government leaders seem possessed by panic as different policies are announced and then withdrawn. In June, Jorge Díaz Serrano, then head of the huge state oil company, Petròleos Mexicanos (Pemex), lowered oil prices by about $4 a barrel in an attempt to keep clients from cutting back purchases. This so upset economic planners and became such an explosive political issue that President José Lopez Portillo, who had undoubtedly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ELIZABETH FARNSWORTH AND STEPHEN TALBOT

authorized the reductions, sacrificed Díaz Serrano, named a new head of Pemex and insisted that prices be raised again.

They were, by $2 a barrel on July 2, but demand had slackened, and five foreign governments and six U.S. oil companies have announced they will refuse to pay the price increase. Responding to the sharp decline in world demand for Mexican oil, Pemex on July 7 cut back oil production by 25 percent. These developments made the front pages of Mexican newspapers throughout June and July, as did the varying assessments of the resulting financial losses to the nation. As a result, Mexicans became aware of their extreme dependence on hydrocarbon exports, something that Lopez Portillo's government had promised to avoid.

Whatever the promises, the figures tell the story: In 1973, oil provided 1 percent of the total value of Mexico's exports; in 1978, 30 percent; and this year, hydrocarbons will provide 74 percent of the income from exports. In 1974, Mexico earned $123 million from petroleum exports; this year, oil exports were slated to bring in *$19 billion*.

During the five years of the oil boom, government planners have grown accustomed to the geometric rise in income from petroleum exports. Now, with lower world prices, Mexico expects to earn about $1.5 billion less than anticipated. This means that some projects will be shelved and that more funds will have to be borrowed abroad. Díaz Serrano was the first casualty of the political crisis engendered by these changes. In the coming months, more heads are likely to roll.

## ■ INDIA: The Heir Apparent

He had spent his adult life working as a pilot for Indian Airlines and trying to stay out of politics, but Rajiv Gandhi, 37, eldest son of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and grandson of Jawaharlal Nehru, became heir apparent when his scandal-plagued brother Sanjay was killed in an airplane crash last year. After several months of working behind the scenes for his mother, Rajiv was elected June 15 to Parliament from Amethi, in Uttar Pradesh, the same district his brother had represented. The opposition called the election one more step toward "dynastic rule," but the opposition seemed powerless to do much more than object.

The whole event was carefully orchestrated by Prime Minister Gandhi, who left the country during the elections so that the limelight could shine on Rajiv alone. "It was a public anointing," wrote *The Statesman Weekly* of New Delhi and Calcutta. "No regal investiture could be more solemn or significant than the electoral ritual in Amethi."

Opponents of the ruling Congress (I) Party predicted that Rajiv Gandhi would be Prime Minister within five years. Not bad, considering his peculiar training for the job. Acting as his mother's aide-de-camp, he handled petitions, made some appointments and generally learned how nepotism works. Before he was nominated as a Congress (I) candidate for Parliament, he was not even a member of the party. Now, though, Congress (I) leaders are reportedly falling over themselves to pay him court.

All this because he is the son of Indira Gandhi. "It says much for the bankruptcy of India's political life that this heritage—unsupported by any ability or experience that the nation knows of—should be regarded as sufficient qualification for the high destiny for which he has clearly been singled out," wrote a bitter columnist in *The Statesman Weekly* after the elections.

## ■ BRITAIN: Rock Riot

The class and racial conflicts convulsing Britain this month reverberate in the country's urban music, which has become increasingly political in recent years. White racist "skinheads" have created their own punk-rock style known as "oi oi" music, derived from chants at soccer games. Blacks and many antiracist whites prefer the reggae beat of Jamaica, especially the "ska" variation, which is often performed by interracial bands.

The July 3 rioting in Southall, a predominantly Asian district of London, was incited by the appearance of a white band, the 4-Skins. The group attracted hundreds of skinheads from all over the city, who came to flaunt their music on enemy turf. The 4-Skins concert "was as provocative as a National Front [the neo-fascist movement] meeting," reported *The Sunday Times* of London. "The title of the 4-Skins' second LP is called *Strength Thru Oi*," the paper noted, "an unpleasant pun on the notorious Nazi slogan 'Strength Through Joy.'" Incensed by random skinhead assaults on Asians in the neighborhood prior to the concert, young Pakistanis and Indians converged on the music hall, where they fought with police and drove out the "oi oi" fans.

Earlier this summer, Britain's most popular "ska" band, the Specials, played antiracist concerts in Coventry and Leeds, braving threats of attack by white gangs. The Specials—composed of two black and five white musicians—were active in the Rock Against Racism concerts organized in Britain a few years ago, but had been forced until recently to give up touring because of right-wing assaults. The group's 28-year-old black guitarist, Lynval Golding, was severely beaten last year by three skinheads swinging iron bars. His current song, "Why?", asks: "Did you really want to kill me?/Tell me why, tell me why/I know I am black/You know you are white . . . /We don't need no British Movement/Nor the Ku Klux Klan/It make me an angry man."

While Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher blames the rioting on hooligans, the Specials offer a more accurate explanation in their song "Ghost Town," which has sold more than 400,000 copies and topped the charts during Britain's "long hot weeks" of urban turmoil. "Ghost Town" portrays British cities dying of neglect and unemployment and accuses the "government [of] leaving the youth on the shelf."

"I know what it's like to be unemployed," the Specials' Golding told *The Times*. "I became a musician after I'd gone for twenty jobs and couldn't find one."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ARTICLES.

WOMEN AND THE DRAFT

# Combat in the Erroneous Zone

MIM KELBER

The recent U.S. Supreme Court decision upholding men-only draft registration put many feminists into what some privately called a "no-win" situation: In arguing for the right of women to be included in compulsory military service, they appeared to be supporting a military establishment that many of them actually oppose. And in contending that the Court could not have made such a sexist ruling if the Equal Rights Amendment were already in the Constitution, they were reluctantly strengthening opposition to the E.R.A. among women to whom military service seems alien and frightening.

The women's movement has had, of course, plenty of experience with double binds of this sort, but its push for drafting women and the very public defeat of that push illustrate what is now a central problem of the movement—its tendency to be caught in highly publicized and often divisive struggles that diminish its energy for creating a truly grass-roots movement organized around women's economic needs, a movement that might in time bring these other victories with it.

In this case, the feminists' dilemma was the result of a gratuitous political ploy by President Carter in early 1980, when he proposed draft registration for men and women in an attempt to divert public attention from his failures in Iran. Congress later overruled Carter and voted to exclude women from the registration plan.

Although they did not initiate the legal challenge to exclusionary draft registration, some women's organizations did contribute to their dilemma by accepting the military establishment as a legitimate vehicle for female progress, by failing to question what a conscript army would be used for, and by their often simplistic faith in equity under the law, which has been the driving passion of their campaign for the E.R.A.

The Court's 6-to-3 decision upholding exemption of women had been expected, but the main thesis in Justice William Rehnquist's majority opinion came as a surprise. Those challenging the men-only plan had expected the decision to deal with the central issue raised by Justice Thurgood Marshall in his minority opinion. Under the "heightened" scrutiny mandated by *Craig* v. *Boren* (1976), Marshall wrote, a statute that discriminates on the basis of sex must be shown to be "substantially related to the achievement of an important government objective." The government had not claimed that including women in the armed forces would hamper its military effectiveness, Marshall noted, citing the "successful experience" of 150,000 women volunteers currently on active service.

Rehnquist, however, chose not to deal with that issue. Instead, he contended that since women are barred by law from combat and "the purpose of registration is to develop a pool of potential combat troops," there was no point in requiring women to register. Most important, he based his opinion on the constitutional power of Congress "to raise and support armies" and "to make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces." Congress, he said, is not required to "engage in gestures of superficial equality" when dealing with questions of national security, and, furthermore, the Court must accord "great weight to the decisions of Congress."

Despite a statement by the National Organization for Women (NOW) that a ratified E.R.A. would have made such a discriminatory finding impossible, Judith Lichtman of the Women's Legal Defense Fund, Bella Abzug of Women USA and other feminist attorneys, in an effort to counter the jubilation of anti-E.R.A. leader Phyllis Schlafly, said that it is possible that the deference to Congressional authority implicit in Rehnquist's opinion might have prevailed even if the E.R.A. were already in the Constitution. With or without the amendment, they said, women can be included in or excluded from the draft. Setting aside the speciousness of Rehnquist's opinion (contrary to what he said, only a small percentage, some 9 percent, of military personnel are needed for direct combat operations), his dominant role in the Court decision bodes ill for future rulings on women's rights, since he is the most predictably reactionary of the Justices, an opponent of affirmative-action programs, abortion rights and other feminist goals. Even if the E.R.A. should be miraculously ratified before its June 1982 deadline, it is feasible that a majority of the Supreme Court (with or without the vote of Sandra O'Connor, who was, after all, recommended by Rehnquist) could still find a way to accommodate the Constitution to some of the Administration's archaic views on women.

For the past decade, the E.R.A. has been the holy grail of the women's movement, a symbol, a unifying force and a practical instrument for advancing equality of the sexes. Some E.R.A. propaganda tends to oversimplify what the amendment would accomplish. Even among the most knowledgeable feminists, however, it has been a fundamental belief that a constitutional amendment would provide a permanent basis for progress and prevent Congress and the state legislatures from repealing antidiscriminatory gains already made. The long-term significance of the Rehnquist decision is that women cannot rely on the Court to guarantee them equality with men. Their best hope lies in shoring up their fight for the E.R.A with mass-movement struggle, and in grass-roots, multi-issue political and electoral campaigns. This has always been true, but under the

*Mim Kelber is a freelance writer who specializes in women's issues.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reagan Administration it is absolutely [illegible]

It is interesting to note that the case upon which the Court finally ruled (*Rostker* v. *Goldberg*) was not brought by women. Originally filed in 1971 by male opponents of the Vietnam War who argued that female exemption discriminated against men, it became dormant when the draft was abolished but was reactivated by the American Civil Liberties Union after Congress passed its male-only draft registration program last year. To this case NOW and several other women's organizations decided to add their amicus briefs, which placed principal emphasis on legal equity in the armed services.

The fact is that most women's organizations, including NOW, either oppose the draft for men and women or are neutral on the issue. Although NOW president Eleanor Smeal called Rehnquist's majority opinion "a tragic setback for women's rights," she rejected Schlafly's argument that E.R.A. supporters want to put women into military combat. Smeal said: "Our organization and many women's organizations are actually peace advocates. We don't want to be soldiers. What we really wanted was that the system be fair."

What the NOW brief actually did was to set forth in compelling detail the effects of excluding women from the draft, both in the armed services and in civilian life. Because the military is the largest vocational trainer of men in the United States, the brief said, women are unfairly disadvantaged. They are not given the same opportunity as men to serve but are penalized for not serving when they compete with veterans for jobs or promotions or when they apply for mortgages.

Moreover, NOW argued, the exclusion of women from the draft injures their self-perception, reinforces the stereotypes of women as weak and men as aggressive, and helps perpetuate the conditions under which many women are unable to defend themselves against rape and domestic violence and men are led to believe that it is normal to assault women.

In seeking to reinforce its argument for military equity, however, the NOW brief strayed far from the organization's basic philosophy of opposition to reflexively male military "solutions." Accepting the military as "a powerful and central social institution," it linked women's absence from military decision making with their lack of political power by arguing that the correlation between military service and political office-holding is extremely high.

By thus viewing women's conscription as a basic, timeless right, the NOW brief necessarily excluded any consideration of the kinds of wars in which a "fair" military system might engage. Most American men and women agree on the need for an adequate defense and on the necessity of calling both sexes to serve their country if it should be invaded or attacked. A conscript army, however, is largely irrelevant in a nuclear war; its more probable uses are for conflicts in the Third World such as that in Vietnam, and therein lies the difficulty for many feminists.

Reactions among women to the NOW brief were mixed. The press depicted feminists as "dismayed" by NOW's decision. Rhonda Copelon, feminist attorney for the Center for Constitutional Rights, felt that the NOW legal position was correct as a matter of principle but added that conscripting women would only double the number of draft resisters. Women's peace organizations remained unalterably opposed to registration, taking a view expressed by Bella Abzug that men have an equal right with women not to be drafted. The Committee Against Registration and the Draft denied that the draft was "a democratic right to be extended to women. It is instead involuntary servitude."

Veterans of the Vietnam War provided an ironic sidelight to the controversy. While Rehnquist was ruling against drafting women, demonstrations by male Vietnam veterans were calling attention to the legacy of fighting in Vietnam. Aside from the physical damage suffered, veterans attested that their experience has reduced many of them to emotional and psychological wrecks. Had these veterans been women responding to combat duty, their reactions would have been cited as proof that women are too sensitive and frail to endure warfare. Radical feminists have long disputed the view that seeking equality means accepting male values and behavior as standards to be shared by both sexes. To the contrary, they believe that women's liberation will also liberate men from the cultural identification of masculinity with institutionalized violence, aggression and war. The experience of the Vietnam veterans, they believe, shows that no one should be considered fit for war.

But whatever position various women's groups have taken on the draft, the Supreme Court's decision in this case still has ominous implications for the women's movement as a whole by making it clear that women will not be able to rely on the Court in matters of equality between the sexes.

One final complicating element in the draft controversy is that while NOW and other women's groups are arguing for military equity, President Reagan's plan to double Pentagon spending in the next five years is savaging domestic social programs in which women—who are a majority of the poor—have the largest stake. Until recently, most of the Washington-based women's organizations were reluctant to characterize excessive military spending as a women's issue per se, but in face of the destruction and underfunding of basic women's programs, they are beginning to move toward that position.

National polls have consistently shown that women are much less enthusiastic supporters of Reagan than are men, both because of his opposition to equal rights and reproductive freedom and because they fear he will get us into war. Mass organizing of women on the domestic spending and peace issues should be a priority for the women's movement in its gathering preparations for a strong political challenge to Reagan policies in the 1982 elections. With this in mind, feminists should replace the issue of drafting women with demands for an end to all draft registration and an end to the nuclear arms race. Feminism and militarism cannot coexist. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

QUARANTINING POLISH REFORMS

# Show Trials Return to Prague

JIRI WYATT

The arrests in Czechoslovakia of twenty-six cultural and political activists during the second week of May have prepared the ground for the biggest political show trials in Eastern Europe since the Stalinist 1950s.

Of the twenty-six arrested, eighteen have been charged with "subversion of the Republic on a large scale and in collusion with foreign powers." As of this writing, eight of the accused remain behind bars. All the defendants face a maximum sentence of ten years' imprisonment. The nature of the charges, and the view of informed observers that the present regime will impose maximum sentences, make this episode in repression the most determined assault on dissent in Czechoslovakia since 1968.

Why have the Czechoslovak police moved against the opposition at this time and in this way? What do they aim to accomplish?

The events in and around the 16th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, held during April of this year, provide part of the answer to these questions. The congress concentrated on three items: the attitude of the Soviet Union to the Polish crisis, relations between Czechoslovakia and Poland and the new Czechoslovak five-year economic plan.

For several weeks before the congress opened, Warsaw Pact armies had been conducting "maneuvers" on Polish soil. Leonid Brezhnev himself accompanied the Soviet delegation to the congress, and Stefan Olszowski of the Polish Politburo was also in attendance. The announcement on April 7 that military maneuvers had ended, coinciding with a low-key speech on Poland the same day by Brezhnev, suggested that tension within the Communist bloc had eased.

But in an aggressive speech the previous day, the Czechoslovak President, Gustav Husák, explicitly compared the situation in Poland with events in East Germany in 1953, in Hungary in 1956 and in Czechoslovakia in 1968. (In protest against these comparisons, the Communist delegates from the Netherlands left the congress.)

In words which foretold something of the subsequent arrests, Husák described how, after the 13th Czechoslovak Party Congress in 1968, the "weakening of ideological work" and the "retreat from class positions" had allowed "revisionists, right-wing opportunists, and sectarians" to weaken and violate Leninist principles, to attack the leading role of the party and to endanger Czechoslovakia's alliance with the Soviet Union. In effect, Husák underlined the basic policies to which Soviet satellites are expected to adhere.

These remarks are even more illuminating when placed next to the economic address of the Prime Minister, Dr. Lubomir Strougal, delivered the following day. Strougal had the unpleasant task of revealing that economic targets for the past two years had not been met (plans called for a growth rate of 4.5 percent, whereas only 2.6 percent had been achieved) and that the incoming five-year plan projected a growth rate well below the levels originally designed in the previous (1976-80) blueprint. Husák himself had said that expansion and increased availability of consumer goods in the immediate future depended on improved labor productivity. In short, party leaders confirmed a continuing sharp decline in the Czechoslovak standard of living.

The connection between the poor economic situation and Husák's attitude toward Polish and Czechoslovak reformers is important, for in his explanation of the causes of the Prague Spring, Husák ignored the major role of economic factors. Policy studies done by the Czechoslovak Communist Party *well before Dubček came to power* had concluded that economic stagnation could not be overcome without democratization of political life. The two-pronged process of reform (decentralization of the economy, democratization of politics), initiated by the soon-to-be-deposed Novotný regime, exploded into the heady debates of 1968. In this respect the discussions within today's Polish Communist Party and Polish press appear to be parallel to the reform process of the Prague Spring.

The crisis in Poland is thus only the latest instance of a fundamental contradiction in postwar Eastern European history. Communist regimes have based their legitimacy on the superiority of socialist planning over capitalist "anarchy." But in practice, the corruption, mindless rigidity and centralized inefficiency of the apparat has created only economic stagnation. The persistent problem, as events in Poland clearly demonstrate, is that any improvement in economic organization requires a complete restructuring of the apparat, and thus challenges the "leading role of the Party."

With the memory of the Prague Spring dangerously rekindled by developments in Poland, the Czechoslovak regime has felt itself threatened. In response, it has cleverly exploited the Polish *economic* crisis by calling attention to shortages and high prices there, as if to say, "Look what reform has got them!" Using the pretext that Poles had been crossing the long Czechoslovak-Polish border to stock up on goods unavailable at home, the regime announced in November 1980 restrictions on the freedom of Poles to enter Czechoslovakia. The public rationale for these moves was economic. Their effect, however, was to quarantine Polish reforms within the Polish borders. At the same time, consumer goods were imported into Prague, so that pictures of endless queues in Warsaw could be (for once) contrasted with the plenitude at home.

Then, on April 27, soon after the 16th Party Congress, two French leftists, Francoise Anis, 23, a law student, and

---

*Jiri Wyatt, who has recently finished a book on the Holocaust and Communism in Czechoslovakia, has published in* The New Yorker *and* The Massachusetts Review.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gilles Thonon, 29, a lawyer, were detained at Dolni Dvoriste on the Czechoslovak-Austrian border. On May 6 the Czechoslovak Press Agency (C.T.K.) announced that Anis and Thonon, "in cooperation with émigré and ideological-diversive [sic] centers, smuggled into Czechoslovakia in a specially adapted vehicle a large amount of anti-state printed matter and records aimed against the socialist social system." A large sum of money intended for subversive purposes was said to have been found on the French leftists. The C.T.K. also claimed that several Czechoslovak citizens were in league with the pair.

After vociferous protests in France, Anis and Thonon were released, and they returned to Paris on May 20. They denied they had been carrying large sums of money and claimed to have had only 4,000 German marks, just enough for their holiday. The printed material they had been carrying, they said, included books and magazines published by émigré Czechoslovak publishers, records of banned folk singers and rock groups, and numerous academic books from fields such as philosophy, sociology and ecology, in English, French and German. Their van had also contained a portable duplicator (described by the C.T.K. as "the technical means for subversive activity").

According to spokesmen for Charter 77 (an association of intellectuals formed in 1977 to support human rights), on the day of the C.T.K. announcement, "scores of homes of Czech and Slovak citizens" were searched and eighteen of the twenty-six people ultimately arrested during the week of May 6 were detained. All of those arrested have been active in Charter 77 or the Committee to Defend the Unjustly Prosecuted (VONS). Charter 77 denies that there was any connection between those charged and the two French leftists. It is clear, however, that by linking those arrested with the French "smugglers," the police aim to "prove" that Charter 77 is financed by "subversive centers abroad" and involved in espionage and criminal activity. To do this they will exhibit *samizdat* (underground) and foreign material seized or planted in the raids.

The full import of these arrests can only be understood in the context of the conditions of intellectual life in Czechoslovakia, where, since 1970, virtually all leading writers and academics have been denied publication. The regime has also drastically curtailed the availability of foreign books, whether political or not. The intellectual life of the country has, as a consequence, been forced underground. Anyone wishing to do any kind of intellectual work, or to keep in touch with contemporary world culture, has had to rely on books "smuggled" in from abroad or on *samizdat* publications.

For the last decade, a small group outside Czechoslovakia known as "The Solidarity Fund" has sought to support scholarly and cultural life inside the country by organizing the importation of books, magazines and records. Despite continuous harassment punctuated by crackdowns, the Czechoslovak authorities have tacitly permitted this flow of indispensable information. For this reason, it is impossible to walk into the house of any Czechoslovak interested in contemporary culture without finding either *samizdat* editions or some foreign books.

The recent arrests therefore signal a sharp departure from the status quo. Their message is that any evidence of interest in unofficial publications of *any* sort, including all foreign books unavailable in Czechoslovakia, will be interpreted as subversive activity.

The best-informed Czechoslovak émigré sources argue that developments in Poland account for the timing of the recent arrests. Unable to suppress or even contain VONS and Charter 77 activists, whose numbers have steadily grown, and fearful that the spirit of reform will spread from Poland, the Husák regime has decided the time is right for a

Of the eighteen people arrested in Czechoslovakia on charges of subversion, eight remain imprisoned. They are:

§ Dr. Jirina Siklova, a sociologist dismissed from Charles University, Prague, after the invasion of 1968; in the 1970s, a writer with her own television advice program on problems of adolescents and old people.

§ Karel Kyncl, a journalist and radio and television commentator fired from his job after 1968; arrested in 1972 and spent twenty months in jail; frequent contributor to the *samizdat* political journals; signed Charter 77 in 1977.

§ Jiri Ruml, a journalist, in 1968 chairman of the Prague section of the Union of Journalists; fired after the invasion; signed Charter 77 and became in 1978 one of the founders of VONS.

§ Jan Ruml, a laborer for the Prague water works, at 28, the youngest of the accused; son of Jiri Ruml; joined VONS after the arrest of the playwright Vaclav Havel and others in May 1979 and became its most active member; in 1980 one of the group of Charter 77 "spokesmen."

§ Dr. Milan Simecka, a professor and literary critic active in the Prague Spring, briefly a member of the Ideological Committee of the University Committee of the Slovak Communist Party; expelled from Bratislava's Comenius University in 1970; his *samizdat* publication analyzing Husák's "normalization," *The Restoration of Order* (1978), is widely known.

§ Jaromir Horec, a poet, in 1968 editor of the fortnightly *Universita Karlova*; expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party in 1970; has since published his work in the *samizdat petlice* (padlock) editions.

§ Jan Mlynarik, a Slovak historian; taught until 1969 at the Prague Academy of Musical Arts; has published many studies of the twentieth-century working-class movement.

§ Eva Kanturkova, a writer and a Charter 77 signatory.

The ten others arrested but not detained are: Dr. Jiri Hajek, minister of foreign affairs in 1968; Olga Havlova and Ivan Havel, wife and brother of the imprisoned playwright Vaclav Havel; Jiri Muller, main student leader in 1968, who has already served five years in prison (released 1976); Dr. Miroslav Kusy, head of the Ideological Department of the Central Committee of the Slovak Communist Party in 1968 and a Charter 77 "spokesman"; Zdenek Jicinsky, professor in the Law Faculty at Charles University in 1968; Mojmir Klansky, writer and journalist; Jozef Jablonicky, formerly head of the department of modern history at the Slovak Academy; Karel Holomek, brother-in-law of Dr. Milan Simecka, formerly chairman of the Union of Gypsies and Romanies, and Dr. Jaroslav Meznik, among the first Charter 77 signatories, previously sentenced to three-and-a-half years' imprisonment (released on probation, 1974).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

**EL SALVADOR: The Roots of Intervention**

____ 10 copies $8
____ 50 copies $30
____ 100 copies $50
____ 1,000 copies $300

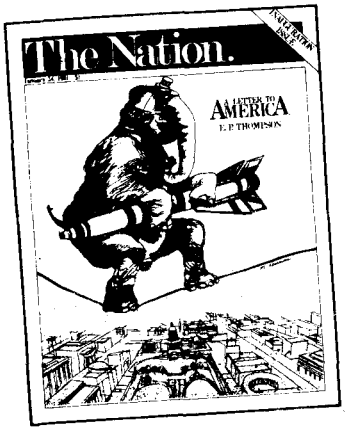
A special collection of *Nation* articles, including James Petras on the White Paper, is now available at bulk rates.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.




**'Protest and Survive'**

**Low Prices for Bulk Orders!**

____10 copies $8
____50 copies $30
____100 copies $50
____1,000 copies $300

This special issue of *The Nation* (January 24) devoted entirely to E. P. Thompson's profound and eloquent essay on the present danger of nuclear war is available at bulk rates. Handsomely illustrated with the brilliant drawings of Marshall Arisman, it is a scathing refutation of those who teach that nuclear war is survivable—even winnable.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Please make check or money order payable to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10011.


final push against its internal opposition. The regime also appears to welcome the prospect of an invasion of Poland, since the arguments of those within the Czechoslovak Communist Party who remain concerned about the nation's "image" abroad, or who fear that intensified repression will create martyrs or a counterproductive demoralization, would be swept aside by a military assault on Poland. □

MORE IS LESS

# The Indefensible Budget

THOMAS DOWNEY

His intelligent face frowning with concern, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger told the House Armed Services Committee recently that he wants to add $32 billion to the Defense Department's request for 1981-82. That's a stack of thousand-dollar bills as high as eight World Trade Centers. Asked if anything in his program was prohibited by SALT II, which he once condemned as "permitting an enormous further increase in Soviet offensive capability," Weinberger appeared not to know the answer. Perplexed, he looked to the right and to the left and finally turned to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen. David Jones, sitting next to him. No, he was told, SALT II doesn't prohibit anything in the Reagan defense program.

Testifying before the House Budget Committee several weeks later, the Secretary was asked the same question. This time his answer came without hesitation—no. Asked if his program was compatible with SALT II by design, or whether it just turned out that way, he replied, "I regard that more as coincidence than anything else. We did not refrain from putting anything into our request to you because of the fact that there once was a treaty called SALT II that was not ratified." Apparently, national security Reagan-style does not require America to burst the bonds of SALT II.

Doesn't the treaty limit Soviet programs? Weinberger was asked. Doesn't it prevent the Russians from doing a number of significant things they could otherwise do without great budgetary distress? Doesn't it forbid them to double the nuclear warheads on their MIRV ICBMs, to increase the number of deployed MIRV ICBMs, to bring older and heavier ICBMs out of retirement, to deploy a new heavy bomber without a compensatory removal from service of other strategic weapons?

"There are some provisions of that general nature," Weinberger admitted. The committee pressed him. Isn't that what the treaty actually says? The Secretary filibustered, disparaging SALT II as permitting an increase in Soviet

*Representative Thomas Downey, Democrat of New York, is a member of the House Budget Committee.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forces relative to present levels—as if a freeze at present levels were somehow attainable. In desperation for a straight answer, a questioner turned to General Jones. The general agreed that the treaty did set limits on the Soviet Union.

Weinberger was then asked what it would cost the United States if the Russians went ahead and did all those things SALT II would have prevented them from doing. What would we have to do in return? What would be the bill to the U.S. taxpayer? The Secretary didn't know! "We would certainly have to examine our condition at that time and make a recommendation to you," he said lamely.

Questions that were not asked, but perhaps should have been: How can one be against a treaty if one doesn't know what it says? How can a treaty be bad if it partly constrains the other side but doesn't impair our own plans? By what standards of responsibility can a Secretary of Defense recommend against an arms-control treaty without even calculating what this decision will cost the American taxpayer?

If SALT II remains unratified and no new treaty is obtained, it is certain that at some point we will find ourselves paying much more money for much less security against a much greater threat. The Reagan Administration is breaking the eggs. Will this be the omelette? □

GREYHOUND BUS STRIKE

# Driving Workers Wild

ANDREW HJELMELAND

*Minneapolis*

Longtime friends became instant enemies. Men and women who joked and kidded with one another on Thursday exchanged insults on Friday. The word "scab" was heard often.

"Let's punch their lights out!" The words were spat by a man carrying a crudely lettered cardboard sign that read "DUMP THE A.T.U." Inside the telephone-information room at the Greyhound bus depot here, a man who'd chosen not to participate in the wildcat strike told a companion that he had his pistol with him and would "blow away" the first person who laid a hand on him.

These were the extremes. Most of the people who came to picket or to work that cold morning last December were neither violent nor radical. They were average citizens who faced a difficult decision they'd never had to make before. Either they joined the picketers and risked being fired or they remained on the job and became a target of jeers. Confronted with this choice, some called in sick. Others—including some of the loudest advocates of a walkout—chose to punch the clock rather than be fired. But there were also quiet, unassuming older workers who unhesitatingly walked out and joined the picket line.

"Who went in? . . . You're shittin' me!" said a husky 24-year-old man, icicles forming on his Fu Manchu mustache. He looked admiringly at a rail-thin man in his 60s who wore a long overcoat and a visored cap with earflaps pulled tightly around his bony head.

The wildcat strike was touched off by the announcement of a tentative agreement between the Amalgamated Transit Union and Greyhound Lines. Most Greyhound employees—strikers, nonstrikers and sick-ins alike—regarded the contract as the most outrageous "sellout" in a series of alleged sweetheart contracts extending back many years. The argument over remedies had been raging inside the Minneapolis bus terminal for a month. With each concession by the union the voices became louder. "Walkout!" "Decertify the union!" "Shut 'em down!" Anger and frustration built, exacerbated by a recently instituted company crackdown on absenteeism, tardiness and overextended breaks and lunches. Supervisors appeared to be everywhere, timing breaks and lunches, overseeing and monitoring every employee action. They added a badly timed irritant to an already tense situation. Something had to give.

What were they hoping to achieve, this handful of wildcat strikers? Most were rather vague about their goals. No one felt any great loyalty to Greyhound (too big, too impersonal, too profitable). For its part, Greyhound had never made much effort to improve a chronically poor employee-management relationship. On the other hand, no one expected the company to play Santa Claus. Management was beholden to the stockholders. The employees, of course,

*Andrew Hjelmeland is a former Greyhound employee who is now a freelance writer.*

**Project Censored,** of Sonoma State University, California, has announced that *The Nation* led all publications as a source of significant investigative stories inadequately covered elsewhere. These stories have been nominated by the project as the "best-censored" stories of 1980.

Project Censored, a media program now in its fifth year, explores the extent of news censorship in the United States by locating stories about significant events that have not received adequate or accurate mass media coverage.

Those *Nation* stories ranking among 1980's "best-censored" were:

**"El Salvador's Christian Democratic Junta,"** by Penny Lernoux;
**"The Junta's War Against the People,"** by James Petras;
**"The Profits of Hunger,"** by Richard Barnet;
**"The Circle of Poison,"** by David Weir and Mark Shapiro;
**"Who Says Oral Contraceptives Are Safe?"** by Becky O'Malley.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THE TRUTH

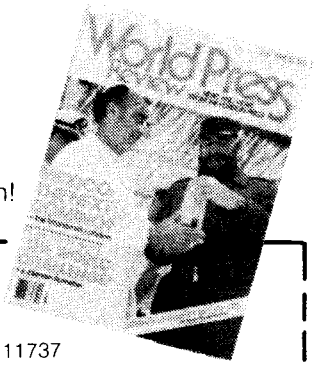
No one person, publication—or nation—holds a monopoly on it. But you can get *closer* to the truth by examining events and issues from a variety of perspectives. If you look at what's being done, written, and read around the world, you'll have a better grasp of reality.

Where can you find this information? In WORLD PRESS REVIEW—the unique, fast-growing news monthly whose staff reads more than 1,000 foreign newspapers and periodicals and passes the most significant items along to you!

Not paraphrases, but the original texts of articles, features, and editorials, abridged as little as possible, from such renowned journals as *Le Monde* (Paris), *The Economist* (London), *Der Spiegel* (Hamburg), *Ma'ariv* (Tel Aviv), *Asahi Shimbun* (Tokyo),...and yes, *Pravda* (Moscow), and *People's Daily* (Peking). Plus interviews with foreign journalists, writers, and scholars. A world of insight that you haven't been getting from your other news sources! It includes regular departments on politics, business, travel, and culture and hilarious cartoons from around the world.

You'll discover how other nations see themselves, their neighbors, you, and our common problems.

Order today at the special introductory rate—and discover how reading WORLD PRESS REVIEW gets you closer to the truth!




World Press Review
NEWS AND VIEWS FROM THE FOREIGN PRESS

P.O. Box 915, Farmingdale, N.Y. 11737

**Yes!** I wish to subscribe to WORLD PRESS REVIEW at your special introductory rate:

**6** issues for just **$7.98**

(In Canada add $1; other foreign $3.50)

☐ Payment Enclosed

☐ Charge to: ☐ VISA ☐ MasterCard

Credit Card No. _____

Expiration Date _____

MasterCard 4-digit Interbank No. ____ ____ ____ ____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

0781NT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had the Amalgamated Transit Union to bargain for them, but in the eyes of many, the A.T.U.'s efforts were as suspect as Roberto Duran's in his second bout with Sugar Ray Leonard. The employees felt they were being squeezed from both sides by unresponsive giants, but they felt most keenly the betrayal of their own union.

Despite the union's unanimous recommendation to accept management's offer, 58.5 percent of the membership had voted to reject it last December 2. The ballot explained that "upon rejection the company would be given a forty-eight-hour notice of intention to strike." After the vote, however, the International president of the A.T.U., Dan Maroney, discovered somewhere in the bylaws a stipulation that a 66⅔ percent rejection is necessary for a strike sanction. He ordered a re-vote on the same contract offer, adding that if two-thirds of the members did not reject the offer, it would be considered accepted.

Before the ballots could be counted, however, Maroney's interpretation of this particular bylaw was challenged in Federal court by Local 1202, New York City. A restraining order prohibited counting of the ballots pending a decision on the constitutionality of Maroney's order. On February 6, 1981, Federal Judge Oliver Gasch ruled Maroney in violation of the International's constitution. A simple majority, Judge Gasch ruled, was sufficient to authorize a strike. Further, he invalidated all ballots still uncounted because of "inappropriate and intimidating" references on the ballot to "trusteeships" and "unauthorized strikes." He ordered that a re-vote be held on February 25. In that poll the workers voted to accept the contract. It was virtually the same one that had been rejected on December 2.

Drivers (who are paid by the mile when driving and at an hourly rate while awaiting assignment to a run) were given a raise of 11 mills (10 mills to the penny) per mile and 45 cents per hour over three years; for other employees, the three-year increase was 65 cents per hour in the central, northern and southern divisions, and 58 cents for western division workers. Based on these figures the yearly percentage increase, using the union's average figure of $8 per hour, would be about 2.5 percent.

In response to the rank-and-file's protests, the union had pointed to the Cost of Living Adjustment (COLA) it had negotiated in 1968. Assuming a projected inflation rate of 12.4 percent, it told the workers they would actually be receiving a 12.6 percent wage increase in each of the three years of the contract. Members responded that the leadership was talking of uncertain increases and, besides, COLA had been won twelve years ago—it was nothing new.

What has troubled most veteran workers over the years has been the union's inexplicable refusal to use its bargaining leverage at contract-renewal time. The contract expires every three years on November 1, shortly before Greyhound's two most profitable holiday periods, Thanksgiving and Christmas through New Year's Day. The scenario at bargaining time has become all too familiar. In Act I, Greyhound's initial offer is always greeted with contempt by union leaders, who unanimously recommend a "No" vote. Their letter to the membership drips with scorn: "insulting" is sure to be there, as well as "outrageous" and, a new entry this past time, "asinine." This vote is usually taken in the first part of November, and the offer is always soundly rejected by the membership. An extension of the strike deadline is then granted, and the union representatives wearily pack their golf clubs and Bermuda shorts and fly back to the negotiating site (Florida used to be a favorite but the past two contracts have been sweated out in Arizona) for another round of arduous bargaining.

Now comes the tricky part—the stalling by the leadership to insure that Greyhound gets the lucrative holiday business. Since certain elements in the 15,000-member union begin to get restless at this point, the union leaders must be ingenious in their delaying tactics. In 1974 they were more creative than usual. It was announced that the ballots had been "stolen" from a union official's hotel room, meaning that new ballots had to be mailed out to every member—a process that easily consumed the holiday season. Members still joke bitterly about the famous Bandit of Daytona Beach.

As the membership grows more restive, wildcat strikes, slowdowns and sick-ins erupt. The teletypes around the country chatter a litany of discontent: CLEVELAND OUT . . . NO SERVICE TO CHARLESTON, W. VA. . . . WORK DISRUPTION IN PORTLAND, MINNEAPOLIS, SEATTLE, NEW YORK . . . SALT LAKE CITY SHUT DOWN. . . .

Greyhound attempts to keep operating with supervisory personnel, flying them from one area to another, slapping patches on a dike that continually springs new leaks. Bulletins from union and company appear around work areas—Greyhound threatening discharges and the union emphasizing that it will not support anyone fired because of work disruptions. During this period, the union is as busy as the company in quelling the troubles.

DRAWINGS BY ARNOLD ROTH

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now comes Act II, when the union magically sheds its pugnacity. The company's second offer is always recommended for acceptance, just as the first offer is always vehemently denounced. The mystery deepens because the difference between offers is invariably microscopic.

After the company has unveiled its new pittance, the union decides to submit the offer to the membership; the vote will be counted after the holidays, of course. So Greyhound banks its hefty Thanksgiving and Christmas profits, and the curtain falls on Act II, in which the script calls for agreement on a contract satisfactory to the union leadership and to company officials, followed by a storm of protest from the members of the chorus.

Act III begins after the holiday season. Now the union concedes, regretfully, that the contract certainly isn't *all* they'd hoped for (not bad, mind you, just not all that they'd hoped for), but the specter of a long strike is raised. They push for acceptance of the new offer, on the grounds that nothing could be gained by a strike at this time of year and that Greyhound operates at a loss from January through May and, therefore, would welcome a strike. Then they parade the mind-boggling costs of the proposed settlement to the company over a three-year period—$107 million sounds more impressive than 58 cents over three years. To quote from the union's assessment of the company's final offer: "This is one of the best contracts the union has been successful in negotiating. . . . It is true that a great amount of the money is not visible . . ." "What can you buy with invisible money?" a member once asked.

If the membership is so unhappy with the offer, why don't they simply vote it down? The answer is that many members succumb to the union's implied threats of economic deprivation. The strike fund will last two weeks at most, they have been told. (Whether a strike fund exists at all is open to question.) The prospect of a long strike, which Greyhound would *reputedly* enjoy, to a body of workers who live largely hand-to-mouth, is enough to swing a lot of "Yes" votes.

There are also suspicions of ballot tampering. The repository for the uncounted ballots is a post office box in Phoenix accessible, at all times, to the thirty-five union officials involved in the bargaining. Given the residue of suspicion left over from the "stolen" ballot case of 1974, there is a chronic distrust of the vote-counting procedure among many members. A 1977 newspaper headline that read "GREYHOUND EMPLOYEES VOTE FOR NO RAISE" was greeted with considerable skepticism by members who couldn't think of anyone who would have voted to accept that particular contract.

Meanwhile, back to the wildcat strike in Minneapolis, Greyhound's number-one trouble spot. The upshot was the firing of fifty-five employees by the company. One driver who was on vacation was fired because he was seen talking to picketers on the public sidewalk surrounding the bus depot. Also fired were employees on days off, as well as night-shift workers not scheduled for work until later in the day. One discharged employee was kicked off the property by a security guard two hours before his shift started. Being seen near the picket line, whether picketing or not, was cause for dismissal.

Local union officials made themselves scarce during this period. Although three days had passed since the ballots were counted, the local president was still in Phoenix despite having no official business there (trouble getting a flight, he claimed later). The secretary-treasurer came to the picket site, flanked by two policemen and two Greyhound executives, and hurriedly mumbled a written statement to the effect that everyone should go back to work and stop making trouble. Only a handful of the picketers were aware that he'd even been there. He made no attempt to communicate with anyone other than the five or six employees who happened to hear his formally worded directive. His duty accomplished, he was gone within five minutes.

After the firings, a restraining order was successful in halting the picketing. No union official appeared in Federal court. The tiny rebellion was squashed. Fifty-five employees were out on the street; Greyhound hired replacements and attempted to return to normal; the union officials continued to draw their salaries.

The question must be asked: Why did so many normally nondisruptive people take such drastic action? Were these disturbances, as the A.T.U. suggested, merely the ravings and rantings of a rabble-rousing minority? The facts suggest otherwise: walkouts and sick-ins in Cleveland; Indianapolis; Charleston, West Virginia; Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane, Washington, and Redwood City, California. Add to all this a lawsuit by a local in New York City; a California-based drive to decertify the union, in which more than 4,000 signatures have already been obtained; the mass firings in Minneapolis, and the thirty-four drivers fired in Portland, Oregon, and it would appear to indicate more than surface dissatisfaction. "Almost to a man, there's rebellion against the A.T.U.," declares Dennis Mower, president of Local 1055 in Portland.

The forgotten men and women in all this are the discharged workers. They are the real losers, the only ones pounding the pavement for jobs, scrambling for food stamps, Aid to Dependent Children, welfare. None of these people have any experience at being on the dole; most have worked steadily throughout their adult lives. For several people in their 50s and 60s, it's the only job they've held. They graduated from high school in the 1940s and have worked for Greyhound ever since. Most were relatively longtime employees, with seniority ranging from three to thirty-five years of service.

"There comes a time when you have to *do* something," says a woman of 40 who'd worked in the telephone-information room for nineteen years. She is divorced and has six children at home. "When you get mad enough you don't think about tomorrow."

"Greyhound gets richer and we get poorer," a 51-year-old man says, shaking his head disgustedly. "Each year they're setting records for profits because of the fuel crisis. The last quarter was their highest ever in their history! But

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it's the union, crooked bastards! They talk about the Teamsters being crooks—well, I'll take them over this outfit any time. At least they get something for their members."

A mechanic with twenty-four years of service sums up: "I suppose we'll regret it. I mean, you can't really win when you're fighting both of 'em—it's like a bunch of minnows trying to stay alive in a school of sharks. But you feel better for getting it out in the open, anyway."

*Epilogue.* None of the workers fired in connection with the wildcat strike have been rehired. Because their discharge was considered to be due to "misconduct," they could not collect unemployment compensation. After a lengthy appeal, a referee ruled that misconduct had not been established and that the discharged workers were therefore eligible for benefits.

The union and the company seemed most interested in punishing Ken Benner, president of a dissident group called the Association of Concerned Greyhound Employees. I know of at least three employees who were approached clandestinely by the union and offered job reinstatement if they would give sworn affidavits that Benner had instigated the walkout. The fifty-five employees also filed an unfair labor practice petition with the National Labor Relations Board on May 26, contending that they had a legal right to strike last December since the contract had expired. The N.L.R.B. dismissed the petition a month later, but the workers are now appealing that ruling.

A petition drive to decertify the union fizzled because the signatures of 30 percent of the membership had not been acquired; many signatures on the petition were ruled invalid for various reasons. □

# The Unemployed

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

social policy, and the linkages have become institutionalized.

To understand this interconnectedness, we must start with the failure of the American economy ever to recover its pre-1929 structural position. The nation did recover economically from the Great Depression, of course. But unlike previous recoveries from periods of economic decline, the recovery in the late 1930s and thereafter was neither spontaneous nor self-sustaining. Only continued government intervention to maintain more or less "full" employment made it possible and sustainable. More important, the form that government intervention took was not merely direct and indirect stimulation of the economy (through fiscal and monetary policies) but a series of measures that intentionally or unintentionally led to the removal of millions of men and women from the labor force. That is, the relatively (to the 1930s) low levels of unemployment that have characterized the last four decades have been possible only because millions of adults have been persuaded not to look for jobs at all and because mechanisms for financially supporting them have been developed.

This last point requires further explication. The Bureau of Labor Statistics distinguishes three groups with respect to employment. There are the employed, whether full- or part-time, well-paid or underpaid. There are the *un*employed, defined as people who are not working but who have made specific efforts to find a job in the four weeks preceding the B.L.S. survey (e.g., they have gone to an employment service or answered a want ad) and who are available for work immediately if they could find it. And finally, all others are classified as "not in the labor force," or the "*non*employed," to keep the syntax and the social content consistent.

The latter group includes not only the retired and housewives but also what we might call the "institutionally nonemployed," the millions of people engaged in daily activities, based in institutions, that, in the flawless logic of profit-seeking capitalism, cannot be classified as "gainful employment." These include students, those on active duty in the armed forces, prisoners and patients in mental hospitals, nursing homes and other long-term-care institutions.

The important fact is that the sum of the unemployed and the institutionally nonemployed rose from 20 million people (23.3 percent of the potentially economically active population) in 1933, the worst year of the Depression, to more than 35 million (23.9 percent of the potentially economically active population) in 1978-79, one of the most prosperous periods of the 1970s. These figures actually considerably understate the magnitude of the failure of the post-Depression American economy to provide full employment by its spontaneous operations, since the institutionally nonemployed group does not take into account either the "caretakers"—the vast numbers of people who work in the institutions that keep others out of the labor market (teachers, health workers, civilian Defense Department employees, etc.)—or the less easily quantifiable group of people that includes those who retire prematurely due to lack of job opportunities and women who might seek employment if adequately paying jobs with hours tailored to child rearing or day care were available.

*John Ehrenreich is an associate professor of American studies at the State University of New York, College at Old Westbury.*

Many of our articles over the past several years have stressed the importance of the Freedom of Information Act (F.O.I.A.) in monitoring governmental abuses. To readers who have wondered how to use the act themselves, we commend a new book by Ann Mari Buitrago and Leon Andrew Immerman, *Are You Now or Have You Ever Been in the FBI Files: How to Secure and Interpret Your FBI Files* (Grove Press, New York), with forewords by Jessica Mitford and Representative John Conyers and an introduction by William Preston Jr. Copies can be obtained from the publisher or from the Fund For Open Information and Accountability, Inc., 339 Lafayette Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10012.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Maintaining low levels of unemployment has, since the 1930s, required maintaining high levels of nonemployment. And it is with the great institutions and programs serving this function—the schools, hospitals and correctional facilities, the Social Security system and the military—that social policy has traditionally concerned itself. They are the sponges, soaking up the adults who would otherwise be looking for nonexistent jobs. They transform the socially undesirable and politically dangerous category "unemployed" into the benign category "not in the labor market." Looked at from the other side, these institutions and programs have two closely linked functions. They have a manifest function (teaching students, curing patients, defending against enemies real and imagined) and a latent function (keeping potential workers out of the labor force).

Let us consider some of the implications of this system for economic policy. Discussions of the impact of government activities on employment have traditionally been based primarily on what might be called a "two-sector" model. There are the employed ("good") and the unemployed ("bad")—although the presumed trade-off between low unemployment and high inflation rates is sometimes said to make a degree of unemployment good. The nonemployed are rarely taken into account. They represent a pool of potential workers who would be available for economic expansion, a group whose changing size and composition is a headache for those charged with making seasonal adjustments of unemployment rates and calculating official unemployment figures. But consider the magnitude of nonemployment. This third sector is more than five times as large as the unemployed group and more than one-third the size of the employed.

It should be evident that keeping this nonemployed group in its nonemployed status—out of the labor market and not complaining about it—is just as important economically and politically as keeping the employed employed and dealing with the problems of the unemployed. Specifically, we are forced to recognize that the employment-related effects of increases or decreases in government social spending are not limited to the direct impact on the employees involved. The cuts have an equally large impact on the nonemployment status of the recipients of services. Two examples will serve to illustrate the point.

The Federal government in recent years has sponsored a multibillion-dollar program of grants, loans and loan subsidies for college students. Whatever else they do, colleges and universities have been major absorbers of people who would otherwise be on the job market. That colleges limit unemployment is vividly shown by the recent surge in college attendance. Young people, faced with the prospect of joblessness, have entered colleges and universities and undercut all the predictions of declining enrollments, predictions that were based on the declining birth rates of the 1960s and the supposed disenchantment with the economic benefits of a college education.

The Reagan Administration proposes sharp cutbacks in these aid programs, however. This may indeed save several billion dollars in government expenditures and will certainly have a devastating impact on many financially beleaguered colleges. Faculty and staff will be laid off, programs will suffer, some colleges may even close entirely. But the biggest effect will be to cut off hundreds of thousands, even millions, of students from their only institutional alternative to unemployment. That is, the cutbacks will force a shift of people from the third sector (the nonemployed) to the labor market, where they will join millions of already unemployed people in competing for jobs. By the same token, efforts to halt "social promotion" of elementary and high school students, whatever their educational justification, can only increase the already astronomically high teen-age unemployment rates.

Or take Social Security, which would not normally be thought of as an institutional haven from the labor market. The Administration proposes to cut back benefits at all ages and especially for early retirees. Much of the recent debate has focused on whether it was moral or politically feasible to cut these benefits on short notice. But regardless of whether the benefit structure is changed now or the changes are phased in over the next twenty-five years, the overall effect is the same: Cutbacks will provide disincentives for early retirement and, to the extent that those retiring at the "normal" age of 65 will face reduced benefits, disincentives for retirement even at a more advanced age. These changes may "save" the Social Security Trust Fund and free the government from the need to devote general tax revenues to income maintenance for the elderly, but they will also push currently (or prospectively) nonemployed people into the labor market. In the absence of a proportionate growth in the number of jobs, a drop in nonemployment can only mean an increase in unemployment, whether among the elderly or among younger people finding fewer job vacancies opened up by retirement.

More than 30 million people in the United States are dependent, in part at least, on various forms of "welfare." The welfare system is not limited to Aid to Dependent Children, food stamps and the like. It embraces to some degree almost every student, patient, Social Security recipient, prisoner, soldier. None fully support themselves through employment; all are supported in whole or in part out of Federal, state or local tax revenues. Cuts in these "welfare" programs would force the recipients out of the nonemployed sector, into the labor market.

The Reagan programs are thus a doubled-edged sword: They will create "demand-side" unemployment with a shift of government spending from labor-intensive areas such as health care to capital-intensive areas such as aerospace, and they will produce "supply-side" unemployment by moving people out of the politically stable nonemployed sector into the volatile and chancy job market.

If the expansion of social services has had an enormous impact on the structure of the economy, the economic functions of the social services have had a profound effect on their manifest functions as well. This is as true in flush times

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as it is in times of cutback. For example, the impact of massive public spending on health services in the last two decades has been to shift health care in ever more capital-intensive (and, as a direct consequence, ever more centralized) directions. These developments have contributed significantly to the dehumanization of medical care and may even have had an adverse effect on the ability of medicine to keep people healthy.

Schools, the target of so much criticism in recent years, again provide an illuminating example. In the last fifty years, the amount of schooling required for an average participant in the labor force has risen from eight or nine years in the 1920s and early 1930s to high school plus two to four years of college in the 1980s. As late as the mid-1930s, leaving school after eighth grade was common; only 38 percent of those aged 25 to 29 in 1940 had completed high school. By 1980, more than 85 percent of the same age group had finished high school, no less than 46 percent had at least some college, and almost 25 percent had completed four years of college.

In part, this apparent educational upgrading represents a need for additional skills in the work force, skills not traditionally taught in high school. This is especially true in certain technological areas (e.g., engineering, some health services). But much of the increase in years in school cannot be attributed to any real need for increased skills. There is no reason to think that the 49 percent of all jobs that the Department of Labor classifies as blue collar, service or agricultural require more than eighth-grade competency in arithmetic, spelling, reading, writing or speaking. Even most clerical and sales jobs (another 25 percent of employment) scarcely require more skills than would be provided by ten or so years of decent schooling.

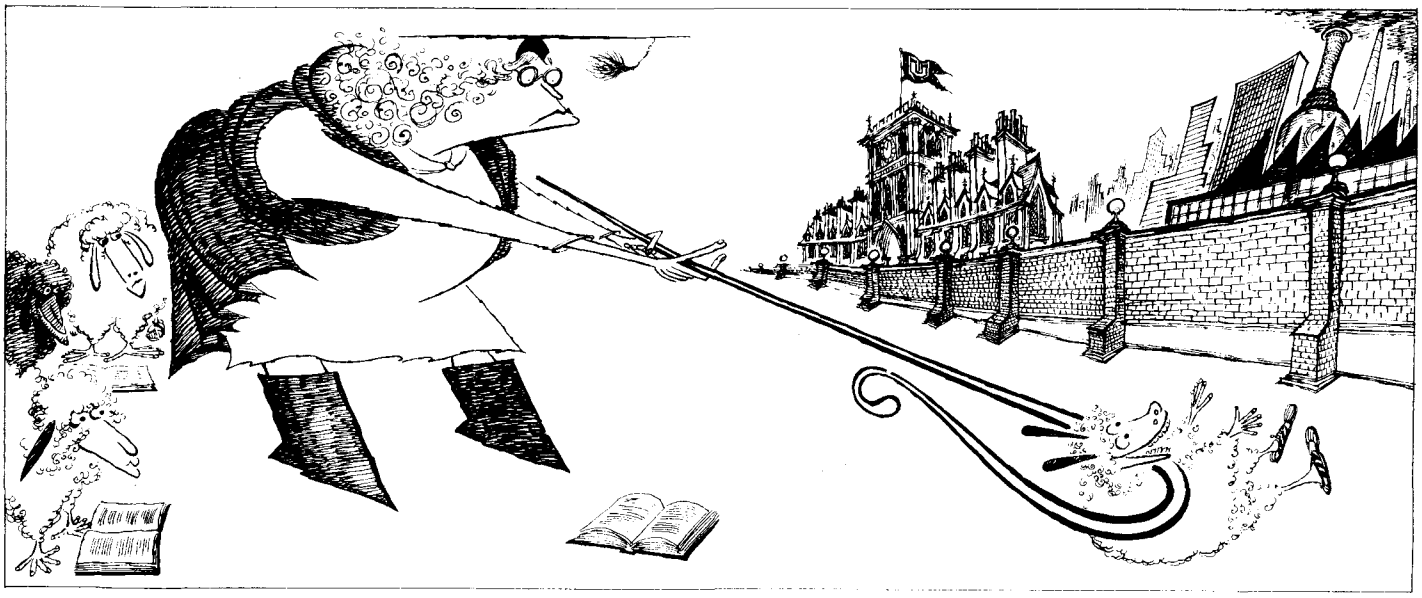
Why, then, have educational levels (or, more precisely, years spent in school) risen so sharply, for blue collar, service, clerical and sales workers as well as for professional workers? This answer was given in the late 1960s by Herbert Bienstock, then the New York regional director of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics:

> The completion of a high school education has become an important requirement for entry into the labor market of today. Employers, finding persons with high school diplomas becoming more available in a period of rising educational attainment, have come to use the diploma as a screening device, often seeking people with higher levels of education even when job content is not necessarily becoming more complex or requiring higher levels of skill. This has been true in many of the rapidly growing job categories in the clerical, sales, and service fields.

More than a decade later, a similar explanation could be given for the growing requirement of an associate or a bachelor's degree for jobs that were done forty years ago, with little difference in content or methods, by people with only eight years of schooling.

The shift to longer schooling as the norm was greatly advanced by the demands of students. Individual students, seeking access to jobs that increasingly required more schooling, decided to stay in (or go back to) school. And minority groups, recognizing that the bidding up of educational requirements made access to schooling essential for access to stable employment, raised often militant demands for "opening the doors" of higher educational institutions (e.g., the open-admissions struggles in New York City and elsewhere in the late 1960s). Expansion of schools—i.e., opening more positions in the ranks of the nonemployed—became a major strategy for dealing with massive unrest among the conventionally unemployed.

Thus the schools expanded not because there was a need to teach more people or to teach people more but because a holding institution was needed to contain people who had finished the then-conventional amount of schooling for whom there were no jobs. In terms of educational policy, however, what changed was primarily the *number of years of schooling* needed for access to the job market, not the *amount or type of education* required. More education (in the sense in which education refers to content, not simply years in the classroom) was, in general, neither needed nor given. This might be called "educational inflation": You



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

need more years of schooling for the same basic education, or, conversely, those in school get less basic education per year.

In broad terms, a college education today (save at elite colleges) is worth exactly what a high school education was worth in 1955 or an eighth-grade education in 1930. It is small wonder that students at all levels feel school is a fraud, to be viewed instrumentally and skeptically, if not with open hostility, or that college teachers, still living in the illusory world conjured up by the ivy-covered word "college," remain baffled and threatened by the "decline in standards."

From all this we may conclude that the historical separation of economic and social policy is no longer useful. Social policy initiatives (or, in the Reagan era, dis-initiatives) have economic implications, and in the connections between them lie some of the political contradictions of Reaganite economic and social policy. Cutbacks in social programs will not affect only the poor. They will produce unemployment among working-class and middle-class people who had seen themselves as insulated from the vagaries of the business cycle by virtue of their positions outside the labor market. This is unlikely to be good politics in the long run.

Potential political problems are not active political crises, of course. Pushing people out of nonemployment does not automatically make them unemployed. Reagan's proposed hikes in defense spending may increase employment levels through the classical demand-side mechanism, while at the same time increasing the size of the active-duty armed forces. This may sop up at least some of the formerly nonemployed. Or Reaganite efforts to "restore" the family might force significant numbers of women back out of the labor force and into the home.

But each of these "solutions" carries with it a new potential for unrest. To gain support for increased defense spending, it is necessary to raise the level of international tensions or even to go to war. A 1960s-style polarization of popular opinion would be a likely consequence (as can be seen in the initial flurry of opposition to U.S. adventures in El Salvador). Forcing women back into the home, in an era of feminist consciousness, would be politically problematic. And given the impossibility of supporting a family in the middle-class style that much of the working class has come to see as its due on one (male) income, it could be economically impossible as well. Finally, major expansion of the low-wage sectors of the work force can take place only if the added competition for jobs pushes wages down even lower (so as to increase the profit margin in these sectors). The present structure of the minimum-wage laws limits this possibility. As one consequence, a major assault on the minimum wage (probably in the form of the often-proposed two-level minimum, with a lower level for teen-agers) is an urgent practical necessity for the Reaganites if they are to keep open this avenue of avoiding economic and political catastrophe. In this light, the struggle over the minimum wage may well be the crucial battle in the Administration's effort to repeal New Deal social policy. But it is not a battle that will end when the votes are counted in Congress. For if the Reaganites were to be successful, it would mean that the entire social pact with labor that has insulated the United States from major class struggle in the post-Depression years would come unraveled.

One of the political functions of economic cutbacks is to make us forget our criticisms of the programs being cut back. In our desperation to hold on to what we had, we struggle to restore an educational system that was providing less and less education in more and more years, a health-care system that was providing fewer and fewer humane services at ever higher prices, a system of old-age pensions that was condemning millions of the elderly to an impoverished old age. Rethinking the functions, roles and forms of desperately needed social services, reopening issues such as the need for community-based, community-controlled services and the need to deprofessionalize many services—these might seem luxuries in times when the very existence of many programs is threatened. But unless we go beyond mere opposition to cutbacks to just such an effort to rethink the most basic assumptions of social policy, the political discontent that Reaganism seems to guarantee is not likely to lead to a renewal of humane and democratic politics. □

# LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 66*)

by raising the issue of multinational corporate support for such activities as the Washington conference on Eurosocialism and the National Humanities Center ["Corporatist Culture Ministries," March 21], are making a similar contribution.

The hostile responses ["Further Words on the Co-Opting of Academia," *The Nation*, June 20] to Noble's article are strikingly similar to those which greeted the C.I.A. exposures. Recipients protested that they were objective; *they* weren't influenced by the C.I.A. money they received. Some liberals pointed out that much of the C.I.A. money went to support liberal, not conservative, causes; therefore the C.I.A.'s intentions couldn't really be so bad. Others could not see what was wrong in the first place with a basically democratic government giving support to organizations whose purposes were presumably democratic and humanistic. But above all, the bringers of the bad news, those who had had the courage and determination to expose the C.I.A. influence, were accused of paranoia, conspiracy theories, slander and worse.

To their credit, many of those individuals who had received C.I.A. support without knowing it came out of the experience chastened and determined in the future to make sure they did not become the unwitting tools of those whose goals were, to put it mildly, different from their own. David Noble's articles will give us the chance—if we want it—to avoid inadvertently serving the interests of the multinational corporate elite.

*Jeremy Brecher*

### APHORISMS

*New York City*

William Attwood's aphorisms ["We Hold These Truths to Be Self-Evident," *The Nation*, July 4] about the "beliefs" of the "(New) Right Crowd" are stunning in their wit and accuracy. Truly refreshing. Thank you both.

*Helen Mears*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# BOOKS & THE ARTS.

## Sticking to the Grim Point

THOMAS POWERS

THE DEFENSE OF THE UNITED STATES, *a five-part CBS Reports series with Dan Rather, Harry Reasoner, Bob Schieffer, Ed Bradley, Richard Threlkeld and Walter Cronkite, broadcast June 14-18 (to be rebroadcast August 3-7).*

It is in the numbers that the truth can be found. Right now, this minute, the United States has got about 9,000 strategic nuclear warheads pointed at the Soviet Union. A little more than half could be delivered within thirty minutes. The Soviet Union has got about 6,000 strategic nuclear warheads pointed at us. Almost all of them could be delivered within thirty minutes. I remember reading somewhere that there are 6,000 cities, towns, villages and hamlets in the United States. The Soviet Union has more hamlets, but fewer cities.

Bellevue, Nebraska, is a village. Dan Rather called it "a small community" on the first part of the CBS series *The Defense of the United States*. Bellevue is two miles from Offut Air Force Base, the headquarters of the Strategic Air Command. In a war Offut would be a target. The concluding sequence of the first part of the series suggested what would happen to Bellevue, and to Omaha, thirteen miles farther down the road, if the base were hit with one fifteen-megaton warhead fused to go off on the ground. The sequence lasted fifteen seconds. This is the sort of thing television can do well, and it was done well here—in a scary but sobering way.

Rather interviewed a young business executive named Jerry Allen. He lives in Bellevue but works in Omaha. Allen told Rather he wasn't sure he'd head for the shelter in the event of an attack. You can see his point. If it came on an ordinary working day—his kids in school, his wife out shopping—Allen's family wouldn't have any chance. It would be no picnic for Allen either. A New York City doctor described the probable burn and blast effects in Omaha:

> tens of thousands of people on the . . . side of Omaha that's closest to the SAC base [would have] . . . third degree burns. There would be skull fractures, there would be ruptured lungs, there would be crushing injuries of the thorax, there would be broken backs, there would be deep lacerations and hemorrhage. Even at eleven or twelve miles the other pressures are great enough to take an ordinary window and turn it into a thousand pieces of glass flying at a hundred miles an hour. . . . That's not including the very high probability that with all of the gasoline stations, boilers and broken steam lines and so on that a mass conflagration or fire storm would develop and simply burn all of Omaha for the next six or eight hours. So you have . . . let's be very conservative and say 200,000 seriously injured people with all of the kinds of injuries. We have never in human history had 200,000 people seriously injured at one place at one moment with the possible exception of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The point of this number—equal to a crowd double or triple the capacity of a large football stadium—is that the injured could expect little by way of medical care. In the entire United States there are beds for only about 2,000 serious burn cases. Many of the doctors and nurses in Omaha would be among the dead and injured. An attack on Offut Air Force Base would imply a general war with hundreds of other nuclear detonations elsewhere. No help would be coming in from outside. The single fifteen-megaton bomb would probably kill a total of 2 million Americans in six weeks' time. Very few of the dead would expire in the first minute or two. One could go on piling up the statistics, drawing a portrait of a civilization with its back broken. It's all in the numbers. Fifteen thousand warheads, just one of which might kill 2 million people. If we keep things simple and just multiply one number by the other, we get 30 billion!!! The United States and the Soviet Union have a population of about 500 million between them. This is one of the things that are meant by overkill.

What preceded all this depressing arithmetic was an inventory of the weapons we've already got and a rough outline of the Reagan Administration's argument on why we need more. Not just more than the 9,000 strategic warheads in U.S. stockpiles right now but more than the 12,000 we'll have by 1985 with building programs already underway. In a speech delivered not long before he was elected President, Ronald Reagan examined the metaphysics of more:

> Our friends and allies no longer feel they can depend on us, no longer trust us, and the Soviet Union has shown its contempt for us and how much it knows it now overpowers us militarily. It is time for us to start a buildup. And it is time for us to build that to a point where no other nation on this earth will ever dare raise a hand against us and in this way preserve world peace.

But why lay it at Reagan's door? Jimmy Carter wanted more, too, and so did Ford, Nixon, Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower and Truman. Reagan's plans for more are not exactly a bold departure from the past. For the better part of four decades, more has been sometimes the solution of choice, sometimes the solution of last resort, to the problem of defense.

*The Defense of the United States* was a serious attempt to deal with a serious subject. It was alarmist in tone, as it should have been. It was respectful but independent. It was clearly based on a lot of homework but wore its learning lightly. Television generalizes to a degree that can take your breath away, but it was the whole undertaking that mattered here, not the precision of the details. CBS itself, as well as the producers and correspondents who worked on the programs, deserves praise for coming up with the idea, conceiving it ambitiously and sticking more closely than television usually does to the point, which I take to be the excellent chance that thirty-six years of Soviet-American conflict and preparation for war will eventually lead to it.

The CBS series covered a lot of ground in its rapid course: refinements in missile technology, the dangers of accidental war through a policy of launch on warning or launch under attack, the huge numbers of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, the imminence of a new round of proliferation, growing European opposition to a NATO military policy that deliberately substitutes nuclear weapons (which are cheap) for men and tanks (which

---

*Thomas Powers is the author of* The Man Who Kept The Secrets: Richard Helms and the CIA *(Knopf). He is at work on a book about strategic arms.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

aren't), recruitment difficulties of the U.S. armed forces, training cutbacks as the result of higher fuel costs, the unreliability of supertechnical weapons systems, the waxing fat of the military-industrial complex, why aircraft cost so much, evidence that the Soviet Union has become a compulsive weapons-builder, the vast gulf between intention and execution that Karl Von Clausewitz called the friction of war, and a great many other matters.

As everybody knows, television has broad political impact; what it chooses to do is often more important than how it does it. CBS made two essentially political decisions before commencing *The Defense of the United States*, neither of them a big deal for a writer speaking to a small audience, but acts of independence and resolution for a broadcasting network. The first was to dwell on the consequences of nuclear war, the cost in human terms—not to touch on it in passing but to make it the point. In the Pentagon, talk about war—that is, destruction, suffering and death—is dismissed as womanish fear-mongering. The second decision was to treat the Soviet Union as a great power like any other, not the source but the other *half* of this great conflict.

Reagan and Secretary of State Alexander Haig have invited the media to return to the polemics of 1950. CBS, and in particular Walter Cronkite, who narrated the concluding episode on the Russians, declined the invitation. There was no talk of militant Communism, no long, inconclusive weighing of the evidence of Russian meddling in El Salvador, no tendentious quotes from Soviet leaders predicting the Triumph of Socialism. Cronkite doesn't imply that the Russians are misunderstood lovers of peace, just that they are frightened of us for the same reason that we're frightened of them, and that they deal with their fear just as we do, by the purchase of weapons as a deterrent to attack. This is very far from suggesting that the cold war is their fault. In the White House and in the State Department, Cronkite's episode is no doubt being dismissed as naïve.

Yet even in the Pentagon and the White House enthusiasm for limited nuclear war does not run deep. The fact that it is considered at all is a kind of whistling in the dark. For various technical reasons, limited nuclear war may be unavoidable in the event of any major East-West war. What the so-called war-fighters are saying is that limited nuclear war does not *have* to lead to general nuclear war. In short, it's possible that the United States and the Soviet Union can go to war without destroying the world. Theoretically possible. *Barely* possible. The possibility is insisted upon with such tenacity because everybody understands that general nuclear war would be an unimaginable catastrophe—something like the decline and fall of Rome telescoped into a single day.

Perhaps *I* am being naïve here, but I am pretty sure that Alexander Haig, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger and Ronald Reagan have no illusions on this point. Certainly their predecessors had none. Since this is the case, it has to be asked why we have built a destructive capacity substantially more dangerous than what we're trying to protect ourselves from.

This is an abstract question. An attempt to answer it is not the sort of thing television does well. CBS, like official Washington, prefers to deal with the situation as we find it now. In this practical spirit, Rather and his colleagues examined the Administration's argument for big, new strategic weapons systems and suggested that the case is not made. More weapons do not necessarily add up to more security. But where does that leave us?

In a concluding remark, Rather reminded us that we live "in a world which can destroy itself in less time than Lincoln took to deliver the Gettysburg Address." In Washington, Rather found "a conventional wisdom about very unconventional weapons of war." Reagan and his advisers believe the problem is too few weapons, not too many. In short, we are a long way down our chosen road. Rather offered no solution, but his note of anxiety was undisguised. It suggested that what we do now will not matter so much as what we have already done.

The underlying theme of the CBS series (or so it seems to me; it may not have been a conscious one in the producers' minds) is that the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union is no longer really *about* anything. The destructive capacity of both sides has superseded their political differences. It is the military threat we

PRINCE BUU-HOI'S WATCH

A long story. Of love and perfidy
ticking away in an old Omega
with a cracked crystal and a dusty face,
which the Prince's English friend gave me
as we sat in her house in the Villa Segur,
just after his heart attack and sudden death.
"It's awful having in the house," she said.
Above the mantle from which she took the watch
was a photograph of her taken years before
in sundress and shady hat, in Saigon,
with the Prince and Diem and Henry Cabot Lodge,
all cordial in their tropical white suits.
Lodge was smiling with tall, paternal grace
at the pudgy little man, earnest with good will,
whom we liked to call "the Churchill of Asia."
Diem would die the next day. Lodge already knew.
And Patricia and Prince Buu-Hoi, Minister of Health
and nearly the fixer of a separate peace, would flee
bearing sympathies from the French Ambassador.
One listens to the watch and sunlight shifts
as shadows shake through threshing palms,
through banyan and great sprays of Bougainvillea.
The time that it keeps best is of the past.

*John Balaban*

*This poem will appear in a new collection,* Blue Mountain, *to be published by Unicorn Press in January 1982. John Balaban's first book of poems,* After Our War, *was the Lamont Selection of the Academy of American Poets.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pose to each other that matters now, not our differing notions of how the world ought to be run. Our foreign policies can have only one sensible goal—the avoidance of war. Everything else is small potatoes. □

# Living Farfetched

RICHARD POLLAK

TICKETS. *By Richard P. Brickner. Simon and Schuster. 254 pp. $12.95.*

The absurdity of life is by now as commonplace a notion as the balance of terror or Mr. Whipple. We are all Becketting in the wilderness. Yet when absurdity comes packaged in an opera libretto, most people—many opera enthusiasts included—dismiss it as hopelessly contrived. All that rushing around, all that posturing, all those convenient mistaken identities. That's not what life is like! But, of course, it is. Jimmy Carter's election and Administration were exactly that: rushing around, posturing and mistaken identity on a grand operatic scale. Who knew that when the mask came off he would turn out to be Beckmesser? There is some confusion about Ronald Reagan, too; all charm and sweet reasonableness in appearance, he may in fact be Gounod's Méphistophélès.

Alan Hoffman understands all this. The protagonist of *Tickets*, Richard Brickner's third novel, he attends opera with the ardor of a lovesick tenor. He goes to the Met as often as four nights a week, spending a quarter of his annual salary on tickets and saving the stubs in a huge fish tank in his apartment. "Everything began for me then," he says of his first visit to the old Met when he was a boy. "It's as if there had never been any real light before." For Alan, this real light spills out onto the audience. As he explains one night at the Met:

> "People are living out operatic situations all the time. They just don't think of it that way, but it's all part of our lives—uncontrolled passion, dreams coming true, what we want turning out to cause what we don't want, unbelievable coincidences, heavily ironic, fateful deaths, the heavy but quick hand of fate. All that. The point is that life is full of significant unexpectedness. . . . We *live* farfetched."

Alan is talking to Curtis and Betsy Ring, whom he runs into during intermission. Curtis is a lawyer Alan once interviewed for *Newsworthy*, where he works as a senior writer; Betsy has just completed her first novel and transfixes him with her intelligence and beauty. "He wanted to enfold her. . . . Opera lovers had only to lay eyes on each other. . . . They barely saw each other before they were in love. The brain sang a serenade. The serenade miraculously became a duet. One glance, one instant, changed lives. It was out of your control."

Like Offenbach's Hoffmann, Alan has been besotted before. At 40, his romantic life has been a series of high beginnings and flat endings. Like so many others, cheerful, sexy Carla, his date when he meets the Rings, initially delighted him—even though she lived at the Redundancy East, where you "reach her door by dawn: 18Y." And always in the background there is Roz, the passion of his youth, who liked opera but never really loved it and who married three times but never Alan. Now comes Betsy, who answers his plea: "Where do you go in this world to find someone who will last?" She is the Stella in Brickner's tale of Hoffman, singing Mozart in the distance like an angel.

It is only one measure of Brickner's remarkable talent that he keeps *Tickets* from becoming soap opera. From the opening page, his spare prose and fine wit elevate everything they touch, infusing his metaphor with an almost palpable sense of life. His sympathy for Alan and Betsy makes them immensely appealing; you care about them with an affection rarely achieved in contemporary fiction. Alan initiates their affair by staying up well into the night translating Act Three, Scene One, of *Die Walküre* into English, stage direc-

*Richard Pollak, literary editor of* The Nation, *is the author of* Up Against Apartheid: The Role and the Plight of the Press in South Africa, *recently published by Southern Illinois University Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tions and all. This a *Newsworthy* messenger delivers to Betsy the next day:

> ORTLINDE (*shouting in the direction of the fir tree*)
> Your stallion should be by
> Ortlinde's mare.
> My Gray is glad to
> graze with your Brownie.
> . . .
> WALTRAUTE
> Who hangs from your saddle?
> HELMWIGE
> (*stepping from the fir trees*)
> Sintolt the Hegeling.
> SCHWERTLEITE
> Lead off your Brownie
> far from my gray one.
> Ortlinde's mare now
> bears Wittig, the Irming!

"The scene goes on some," Alan writes in his covering note, "but I'll spare you the rest. Wagner lacks the wit of Oscar Wilde or even Neil Simon, but you can see from this he is underpraised as a humorist."

Betsy finds Alan irresistible, but in the face of his Cherubino-like desperation is cautious and reserved, like countesses throughout the repertory. She is also married, but that is more a complication than an obstacle. Curtis Ring loves her, but as an ornament, a talent to be exploited—not for money but for status in Manhattan's meritocracy. For Betsy, writing is sustenance:

> Writing was as if. Metaphors were as if, and metaphors were everything, the explanation of reality. Alan Hoffman went to the opera as if opera were food. The singers sang for their lives, as if their lives depended on it. . . . Curtis didn't work the way he did only to make his money or to satisfy his standards or because of his convictions but because to win the cases, the important ones, was as if to succeed in not dying. Important failure was a version of death. . . . She had not needed to write her novel in order to survive, but it was as if writing it allowed her to survive, gave her a chance to avoid dying, a reason to avoid dying. Her novel was itself something to survive.

Such arias illuminate every corner of Brickner's stage. But it is his controlled and sustained love duet for Alan and Betsy that holds the spotlight. He shows her his apartment: "In these cabinets are my records and tapes, turntable, speaker, deceased wives." They argue, they make love:

> He took his deep breath. What would have been, with another woman, the moment for maneuver and declaration, the moment in which lust pauses beneath the archway of solemnity before staggering through it, now flustered Alan.

They steal off to a matinee at the Met, watching *The Italian in Algiers* from separate seats—"on the lookout for some assassin, like agents," says Betsy. Alan tells Betsy he loves her novel, gives her an idea for a new one. Gradually, her caution modulates from minor to major; dissonance ends.

Is all this too good to be true? Yes. The plot of *Tickets* does not end like *The Marriage of Figaro*. Readers may find Brickner's grim conclusion unfair, a cruel trick. How could he create such a warm, attractive, happy pair and then . . . ? But he warned us. Why should we be surprised? *Götterdämmerung* is not just an opera, it's a button away. That is the stunning range of this novel, which deceptively seems to take place only in the rarefied atmosphere of Lincoln Center and environs. With his gift for language and characterization, Brickner is like an inspired composer subtly orchestrating the comic and tragic dimensions of life that make audiences laugh and weep in recognition.

At its deepest, *Tickets* is a novel about art itself. "You have to understand," Alan tells Betsy when they first meet,

> "that no one who loves opera would think of denying that it's full of grotesque stupidities—loose ends and ludicrous staging and gestures that make no sense. . . . The point is that there's so much that has to work if the whole thing's going to work that when it does work I feel so grateful that I think I must feel that I become part of the perfection. I love my own admiration. What we're always after, anyway, is intelligence over heavy odds, isn't it? That's what opera is when it works."

That's what writing is when it works also, as Brickner demonstrates on every page. □

FREE 1981 DOVER CATALOG
3,000 attractive paperbacks from $1.50 to $5.00, formerly $10 to $500. *Latest releases* in art, music, philosophy, anthropology, architecture, photography, fiction, chess, children's books, science. By Einstein, Trollope, Spinoza, Botvinnik, Braque, Picasso. 86-page catalog absolutely FREE! Write Dover Pubns., Dept. A5, 180 Varick St., N.Y. 10014
*"America's most imaginative reprint publisher"* —Time Magazine.

"Intensely beautiful... haunting." —N.Y. Times Book Review
"An extraordinary achievement...astonishing." —Women's Wear Daily
74 photos. Size 10⅞" x 8½".
NICARAGUA
By SUSAN MEISELAS
Paper $11.95, cloth $22.95, now at your bookstore PANTHEON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# THEATER.

RICHARD GILMAN

I've just returned from Brazil, where I learned as much about that country's theater and drama as one can in a little over two weeks. My hosts were the Instituto Brasil Estados Unidos, which is devoted to cultural interchange between the two countries, and the theater departments of the universities of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Bahia. I spent time in all three cities, saw several plays, gave seven talks, met a great many actors, directors, playwrights and critics, along with academics and cultural officials. Everywhere I went I found extraordinary warmth and attentiveness. The Brazilian theater community clearly has a passionate interest in our own theater and drama, an interest that ranges from the state of the avant-garde—Robert Wilson and Joseph Chaikin had appeared in Brazil a few years ago, and the Mabou Mines were coming to São Paulo soon—to the current condition of Broadway and the status of the great international names of postwar American drama: Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller and Edward Albee.

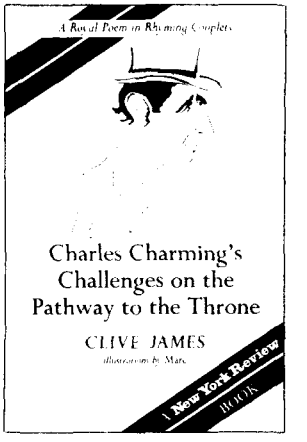
As is well known, Brazil is in a political period called the *apertura*, or opening. This means a general relaxation of authoritarian rule, viz. the softening of censorship, the tolerance of opposition parties and the promise of free elections—for state and city governments, at least—within a year or so. These would be the first free elections of any kind in Brazil since 1964, when the military stepped in to end the open, experimental and liberal period of government under the civilian presidents Kubitschek, Quadros and Goulart.

For Brazilian culture in general, and particularly for the theater—a communal and societal art extremely responsive to political changes—the last year or two has been a time of great uncertainty. The Brazilian theater is like a prisoner facing an open door without being sure it isn't a ruse. Theater people fully understand how quickly the *apertura* could close. Censorship has indeed been eased, but could show itself at any time. In sexual areas there seems to be a great deal of liberty. In the productions I saw, to which I'll return later on, there was a good deal of nudity and other erotic manifestations ordinarily repugnant to prudish authoritarians, and I was assured that such indulgence is widespread. But in political matters one can never be sure how far one may go.

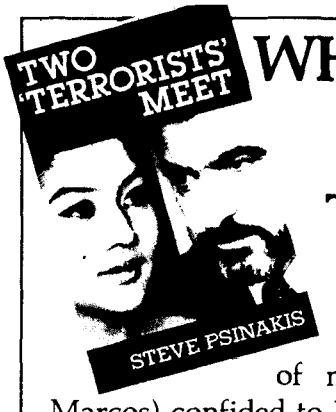
A friend of mine and a former student at Yale, Antonio Mercado, is directing an important play with a strong political theme, *Champions of the World* by A. Dias Gomes, which is due to open soon in São Paulo. Before he could begin rehearsals he had to submit the text to the censors, who ordered a number of cuts and changes. Not one of them was crucial, but the fact of their having to be made put everyone on notice that the golden age is still some way off. More alarming, during the run of the play last year in Rio, my friend and others involved in the production received threatening—and anonymous—phone calls.

Still, this play, which deals with the kidnapping of the American ambassador to Brazil by leftists several years ago, couldn't have been produced at all until the political change occurred. The total ban on political expression in the theater (as everywhere else) had existed for almost fifteen years, and this certainly helps account for the extraor-


*Just in time for the Royal Wedding!*


A Royal Poem in Rhyming Couplets
Charles Charming's Challenges on the Pathway to the Throne
CLIVE JAMES
illustrations by Marc
The New York Review BOOKS

Clive James's hilarious mock epic poem, based on the life and loves of Prince Charles, will be a humorous guide to the Royal Wedding and an ideal gift for friends—only $5.95 each. Order *Charles Charming's Challenges* today from your local bookstore or send $5.95 per book *directly* to *The New York Review of Books*, Dept. CC, 250 W. 57 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10107, (212) 757-8070.




WHO ARE THE REAL TERRORISTS IN THE PHILIPPINES?

"...recounts the delicate negotiations that preceded President Marcos' lifting of martial law last January ... (Imelda Marcos) confided to Psinakis that Reagan 'practically told me not to lift martial law yet'." *The Nation*—May 2, 1981

"I never talked about these things. Psinakis is apparently concocting, fabricating all kinds of facts."
*Ferdinand E. Marcos*—May 8, 1981

paperback $7.95, hardback $12.95

"A compact history of Philippine political economy ... an inside view of the April 6th Liberation Movement."
*Filipino Information Service*—May 1, 1981
paperback $2.95

Send Orders to:

Morgan & Morgan
145 Palisade Street
Dobbs Ferry, New York 10522


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dinary concern with political or ideological theater that I found everywhere. The audiences at my talks and the people I met informally wanted very much to know about the state of such theater in the United States, and my replies to their questions were necessarily complicated. I had to explain that we've never had much overtly political theater, that such as we possessed usually emerged at times of significant social tension, the 1930s and 1960s, for example, and that in general our society hadn't much interest in it since we were far less divided—for intellectual good or ill—along political and ideological lines than the Brazilians were.

Because of their more raw social and economic divisions, their more rigid class structure, Brazilians have tended much more than we to use the theater as an instrument of social change, or at least to try to arouse consciousness of the need for such change. Not that they're naïve about its efficacy. Nearly everyone I talked to was quite aware of the difficulties involved in such politically impelled enterprises as "people's theater" or, specifically, the "theater of the oppressed" of the director-theoretician Augosto Boal, the one Brazilian theater figure about whom I'd known something before I came.

Boal had for years been in the forefront of radical theater until his Popular Center of Culture in São Paulo began to come under attack by the military government in 1964. In 1971 he fled to Paris, where he resumed his work, and he is said to be planning to return home soon. I admire many of Boal's ideas (which resemble some of Bertolt Brecht's and Jerzy Grotowski's), but find him naïve and simplistic in certain ways. Most Brazilian theater people shared this opinion. They were proud of Boal for his work with peasants and laborers, but saw him, as I did, as an exemplary figure of the central contradiction that afflicts almost all ideological theater: to be efficacious, or try to be, on the level of political or social awareness, is inevitably to sacrifice esthetic or imaginative truth.

I haven't meant to imply that theater in Brazil is predominantly or even notably political, only that it does have that dimension. Brazilian theater is nearly as complex as ours, if thinner. Until recently the chief influences on Brazilian playwrights and directors were European, as ours used to be; it's only been in the last ten years or so that American avant-garde movements have made themselves felt. Most of the modern classics of European drama have been translated, along with the major documents of theatrical philosophy—Stanislavsky, Brecht, Grotowski, etc.—and productions of European plays are common enough. But from what I could see, theater in Brazil is a much smaller enterprise than in the United States. With few exceptions, it's concentrated even more heavily in Rio and São Paulo than ours is in New York, though the total number of productions in the two cities combined at any one time is much fewer than what we ordinarily have.

For all the gaps in their knowledge, Brazilians are far more familiar with American theater and drama than we are with theirs. Curiously enough, though, the news doesn't seem to have reached them that the older American playwrights they respect, such as Williams, Miller and Albee, have not had a well-regarded or commercially successful play for almost twenty years. But at least there was a familiarity with these writers' early work, whereas there wasn't a single Brazilian dramatist I could name before I arrived there.

Our neglect of Brazilian drama is all the more surprising when one considers the fact that much other Brazilian writing has been translated and published here—fiction from Machado de Assis to Jorge Amado to the young Marcio Souza, the anthropological-historical books of Gilberto Freyre and the great epic *Os Sertoes* by Euclides da Cunha. It may be, of course, that there simply haven't been any Brazilian playwrights of sufficient accomplishment to warrant our interest, but I find that hard to believe. At any rate, whatever the explanation, I set out in my brief time there to try to make up for my ignorance.

Among the playwrights I want now to look into are Oswald de Andrade, a writer of the 1930s who was Brechtian without having heard of Brecht, and the fascinating Qorpor-Santo, the pseudonym of Jose Joaquim de Campos Leao, who died in 1883 leaving a body of work that anticipated Alfred Jarry and Antonin Artaud. I did a little reading, including the text of the Dias Gomes play I mentioned before (I was also able to see a rehearsal of the upcoming production) and essays in an impressive theater magazine called *En-*

MEKELLE ROAD, 1974

*300 Eritrean prisoners escape*—AP dispatch, 1974

To get to Adi Quala
where the prisoners ran
you climb endless switchbacks
gearing down to second, sometimes first
reaching the plateau in one,
or is it two, long hours
dusty streets, quieter now in early afternoon
hotel with Fanta signs and cool back courtyard
hot showers, beer, fried lamb
with peppers that burn beautifully
the girls laughing, teasing
yours if you want them
and they like you
later, starting out again
across rolling fields bleached by the sun
driving to Asmara
in the soft wind of late afternoon
that turns eucalyptus leaves up
silver on their backs
you want to cry
to make it last forever

*Jestyn Portugill*

*Jestyn Portugill, a freelance writer and consultant in Washington, was Peace Corps director in Ethiopia in the early 1970s.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*saio Teatro.* Edited by Yan Michalski, the highly respected critic of Rio's *Jornal do Brasil*, this is the only such magazine in the country, but even so, I was told it has a hard time due to the limited market for such periodicals.

More to the point, I saw two productions that gave me materials for judgment, even if they left me a long way from being able to claim any sort of expertise. One was Strindberg's *The Father*, which I saw in Bahia, perhaps the third most active theatrical center in Brazil. I'd been told that the director was a wild man, a young innovator about whom there was considerable controversy. From the moment the play started, with the audience seated at the rear of a huge stage in an enormous theater and the actors out near the apron, I could understand the director's reputation.

I hadn't worried about the language problem, since I know the play nearly by heart. But very quickly I saw that my knowledge of the text would only help me determine what had been left out. For the director had radically shortened the play, reducing two important characters—the doctor and the minister—to a few lines, and had even more radically altered the action. Using a variety of avant-garde techniques, from Meyerhold to Brooke and Serban, turning the nurse into a nun (who at one point suckles the captain), using three actors simultaneously to play the title role, employing a six-woman group playing medieval music and converting the captain's final humiliation and defeat into symbolic triumph in which he climbs up to a boat suspended from the flies, the director, whose name is Marcio Meirelles, was offering an example of "director's theater" that made ours seem reticent. When I met him afterward I remarked that he had used less than a third of the text, to which he replied with a smile, "less than a quarter."

In São Paulo I saw a group of short plays by Nelson Rodriguez, about whom I'd heard from the time I arrived. Rodriguez, who died several years ago, is considered by some to have been Brazil's most important contemporary dramatist, though he has his detractors. From what I saw I could understand both attitudes. He seemed a wilder and more urban Tennessee Williams, with a touch of Jarry and another of Strindberg. A fierce moralist whose strategy for bringing about purification was to write domestic dramas in which violent eroticism and vicious jealousies reign—homeopathic treatment, it might be called—Rodriguez, I feel sure, is worth translating. And the director of the piece, Antunes Filho (who staged the impressive *Macunaima* in Portuguese in New York not long ago), is worth seeing for anything he does.

An encounter I had in São Paulo crystallized the sense I had throughout my visit of the ferment and energy in Brazilian theater, yet its simultaneous lack of direction and confidence. I was taken to meet a man named Jose Celso Martinez Correa at his Teatro Oficina, which had been perhaps the most important avant-garde theater fifteen or twenty years ago. A friend of Julian Beck and Judith Malina's and an adventurous experimenter, he had been all but silenced after the military regime consolidated its power. And now I was told he seemed creatively impotent, confused, injured in some impalpable way. His charming theater, full of amusing and irreverent murals, was crowded with young people who clearly regarded him as a guru, and he himself was lively and seemingly full of plans. But I learned that for more than ten years he had been working on a film that was nowhere near completion and that he hadn't done any productions at his theater in a long time. I don't want to draw any large conclusions from his case, but if one had to point to someone who incarnated the Brazilian theater's—Brazilian culture's—recent suffering and precarious liberation, he would be the person. □

# FILMS.

## ROBERT HATCH

**Richard's Things**
**Gaijin**

First *Voyage en Douce*, then *Messidor* and now *Richard's Things*—the summer screen seems amply supplied with female couples in bittersweet romances. Of the three, the last has much the most surprising plot (the others have not much plot at all), but exceeding oddity is not sufficient recommendation for a yarn.

When we first see Kate Morris (Liv Ullmann), she is speeding to the hospital bedside of her husband,


**UNICEF does BIG things**

**for small children**

Something good is happening in the world today. UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, is improving the lives of children in more than 100 developing countries.

And you can become a part of this life-giving effort through UNICEF's new Holiday Collection of greeting cards, stationery, gifts, and calendars.

Over 80 designs to meet every correspondence need. Multicultural gifts that educate and entertain. Full-color calendars perfect for home and office. Together they add up to healthier and happier lives for the world's neediest children.

This year, make your holiday greetings count. Send the gift of life with UNICEF cards and gifts.

Write for a free color brochure:
U.S. Committee for UNICEF
331 East 38th Street, New York, NY 10016
Or call toll free: 1-800-228-1666

**UNICEF**
**Cards Stationery • Gifts**


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Richard, who has suffered an accident at a place and under circumstances initially obscure; thus the film starts off with the promise of a thriller. However, it soon becomes known that Richard had been felled by a heart attack, which was ultimately fatal, while in hotel intimacy with Josie (Amanda Redman), an assistant at his commercial greenhouse. The widow tracks Josie down to berate her, somewhat belatedly, for having intruded on the Morris's garden of domesticity. But the younger woman, who is nothing if not poised, protests that she merely followed where Richard led and where others had been before her. Resourcefully, she suggests that the two of them, in the interest of keeping Richard's memory green, should become lovers, and Kate tearfully but enthusiastically agrees to this erotic non sequitur.

The film then develops into a latter-day *Well of Loneliness*, all tender caresses, long gazes, unspoken communication and a conspiracy against conventional opinion. You might think that Frederic Raphael, who wrote the script, and Anthony Harvey, who directed it, had just twigged to the lesbian state and found it peculiarly absorbing. At least, they appear to be absorbed by little else about their main characters, and since the love affair is handled with a delicacy that is almost prudish, the viewer is left with nothing to do but gaze upon the ladies as through a plate glass window.

Amanda Redman is a relative newcomer to the screen, so what she might do if given a chance is anyone's guess. But we all know that Liv Ullmann can do a great deal when the opportunity arises. However, she is not self-propelled; she cannot walk into an empty script and set the sparks flying by force of personality. Left to herself she becomes enigmatic, pleasantly absent. None of this having occurred to Harvey, he missed his chance to exploit Ullmann's talents and will probably not be given another.

*Gaijin* is the first feature movie to be directed by Tizuka Yamasaki, a young Brazilian woman of Japanese lineage. The title is the Japanese word for an outsider, and the film's central figures are Japanese farmworkers who about 1910 were lured to Brazil by coffee planters seeking field hands more docile than the Italians whom they had earlier imported. In particular, *Gaijin* records the experiences of Titoe, the teen-aged bride of one of the workers and sister of another. She is a fictional representation of Yamasaki's grandmother, and much of the incident in the film is drawn from the old woman's memories of those early days.

Although a third-generation Brazilian, the director spent her childhood within the Japanese community of São Paulo and spoke no Portuguese until she was 15. In an interview with Judy Stone of *The San Francisco Chronicle*, she remarks that, although in Brazil she had always thought of herself as Japanese, when she went to Tokyo to engage several leading players for the picture, she suddenly felt Brazilian. Thus displacement is a basic factor in her life, as in her movie.

All the workers on the coffee plantations of the period were, like the Japanese, uprooted, ill at ease and painfully subject to the dictates of their masters. But alienation is a form of bereavement that can be experienced at

Robert Aldridge, Norman Birnbaum, Blair Clark, Ramsey Clark, Fred Cook, E.L. Doctorow, Robert Engler, Richard Falk, Jules Feiffer, Tom Ferguson & Joel Rogers, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Bertram Gross, Fred Halliday, Christopher Hitchens, Michael Klare, Robert Lekachman, Richard Lingeman, Aryeh Neier, Marcus Raskin, Nora Sayre, Robert Sherrill, Calvin Trillin, Kurt Vonnegut, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe write it.

John Alcorn, Marshall Arisman, Tony Auth, Seymour Chwast, Robert Grossman, Frances Jetter, Ed Koren, David Levine, Lou Myers, Ed Sorel illustrate it.

Victor Navasky edits it.

The Nation.

P.O. Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305

YES!!!Send me 16 issues of *The Nation* for $11.95, a savings of 40% off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!

☐ Please bill me later.

NAME _____ (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Add $3 postage for each foreign subscription. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds.

D8128

We've changed the face of *The Nation*. The new *Nation* is something to see.

Why is today's *Nation*, from editorial to the arts, wiser and wittier than anything in the field? The answer is in the people who write it, illustrate it, and edit it.

Join them. Say "yes" to our enticing offer in the coupon.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

various levels of intensity. The laborers of European background recognized their employers as other Europeans who had preceded them to the New World. Their life in Brazil was exceedingly hard and not what they had been promised, but it was at least comparable to life at home. They understood that they were in a class struggle and, though at a heavy disadvantage, could to some degree resist their exploitation.

Thus the condition of the Europeans provides Yamasaki with a bench mark against which to measure the utter desolation that seized the Japanese. Nothing in the landscape, language, housing, food, conditions of labor or behavior of their bosses and their fellow workers related to the world from which they had come. Their minds were stunned, their spirits overwhelmed; they ceased to communicate effectively one with another. They took to drink; they died of malaria or by their own hands. They were indeed as docile as the planters had hoped, and it took years for the strongest of them to break out of their isolation and find a place for themselves in Brazil.

It is a powerful theme, but somehow the full force of it eludes Yamasaki. She is perhaps too close to it, or she may lack the professional experience that would have enabled her to lift the film out of pathos into a more resolute tragedy. There is a remoteness to it, as though the director were recording her grandmother's distant memories rather than trying to carry herself and her players back into that community. Sometimes she introduces incidents that do not adhere to her story, probably because the old lady mentioned them.

And, since brute suffering does not project very effectively, the Italian cast is more vivid, more individualized, than the Japanese, with the result that the supporting actors repeatedly steal the film from the main characters. Even Kyoko Tsukamoto in the central role of Titoe—wife, mother and eventual leader of her people—must work with a part so faintly drawn that she cannot make of Yamasaki's grandmother more than a stock heroine.

Perhaps I am too severe, because I so much hoped the movie would excel. Even with its shortcomings, *Gaijin* shines with conviction and compassion; moreover, it uncovers a chapter in the early history of colonialism whose pattern endures little changed in much of Latin America today. □

# CLASSIFIED.

## MISCELLANEOUS

**49 Biblical Contradictions**, $3.00; Discovery, Box 20331-TN, West Valley City, UT 84120.

**THEMM**—The Equally Moral Minority. Fight religious jingoism. ONE OF THEMM button, sample newsletter, $2. Bullock, 5072 Stoneboat Row, Columbia, MD 21044.

**DIAMOND INFO**—CS6800, 1685 Tustin A-200, C.M., CA 92627.

**JESUS CHRIST COMING AGAIN?** Delusions clarified and corrected. Free Pamphlet. Clark, Box 323-N, Sparr, FL 32690.

**PERDUE CHICKEN BOYCOTT**—for free information about a labor struggle against a vicious, exploitative employer, write or call Perdue Boycott Committee, 5901 Harford Road, Baltimore, MD 21214. (301) 426-7700.

**INTERIOR PAINTING**—Quality work. Call Richard, (212) 564-4989.

**ORGANIZER** for S. Cal. Americans For Democratic Action. 927 Thayer, Los Angeles, CA 90024.

## BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

**BECOME A DOCTOR OF NUTRIPATHY** by correspondence. Info. $13, refundable. American College of Nutripathy, 6821 E. Thomas, Scottsdale, AZ 85251. (602) 946-5515.

## PERSONALS

**SINGLES WHO THINK** read & publish in Contact High. Find out why. Free brochure. Box 500-N, Mendocino, CA 95460.

**I need** money for tuition, please help! R. Stanley, PO Box 2074, Wilkes-Barre, PA 18703.

**Oriental contacts.** Cherry Blossoms, Honokaa, HI 96727.

**Columbia U. student seeks apt.** or share on Upper West Side, Manhattan. Beginning August, prefer long-term. Call 280-6070 nights, or write Sam Stoloff, c/o The Nation, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011.

**WOMAN**, 54, creative, communicating, healthy, literate, active, affectionate. Seeks man similar. Write Nation Box 333.

## VIDEO & FILM

**Video Cassettes**, 16mm, S8, all ratings home use. Huge cat., $1. THUNDERBIRD, Box 65157N, LA, CA 90065.

## BUTTONS, BUMPERSTICKERS

**TO HELL WITH THE MORAL MAJORITY** bumperstickers, 3-$2.50, 10-$8. New Wave, Box 4856T, San Diego, CA 92104.

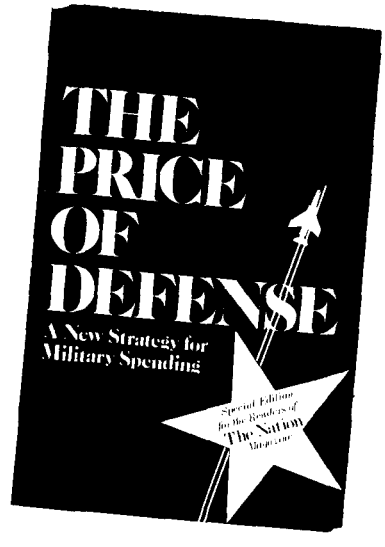
**"E.M.K. '84"** Kennedy bumpersticker. START THE MOVEMENT NOW! $1, The Committee for '84, 1666 Page St., San Francisco, CA 94117.


# THE PRICE OF DEFENSE

*A New Strategy for Military Spending*

SPECIAL NATION EDITION

only $4.95




**The only book where ordinary citizens get a thoroughly researched, intelligently argued presentation of U.S. military capabilities and commitments.**

"It is a bold argument that the United States might get more security at less cost. THE PRICE OF DEFENSE has done just that, with facts, figures and in detail."
J.W. Fulbright

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Please send $4.95, plus $1.00 for postage and handling (for additional copies add 50¢ each), to: PRICE OF DEFENSE, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10011


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# CLASSIFIED.

## RECORDS & TAPES

**RAVI SHANKAR MUSIC CIRCLE.** The finest Indian classical music on stereo cassette. Free catalog: 7911 Willoughby Ave., Los Angeles, CA 90046.

## REAL ESTATE

**CHICAGO BOUND?** *Live in Oak Park—unique urban* suburb. Classic architecture, active diverse population, excellent library and schools. Just 15 minutes from downtown Chicago by public transportation. Free housing referral service—brochures, too. Contact Donna, OAK PARK HOUSING CENTER, 1041 South Blvd., Oak Park, IL 60302. (312) 848-7150.

**Rocky Mts.**, 100 mi. N.W. of Denver. 4A, 2 houses. $260,000. WOODLAND, 10391 Hwy 34, Grand Lake, CO 80447.

**Tucson, Arizona.** Buy Townhouses, residences, land, motels, apartments. Free information. Reputable Roy Long Realty, 5671 N. Oracle Rd., 85704. M.J. Barrett.

**LARGE HOUSE** on 24 acres near Oneonta. Pool. $55,000. Owner (212) 666-4765.

**Philadelphia Suburbs.** Lovely, English Tudor, 4 · br's, large studio, 2 acres, trees, secluded, transportation, $190,000. Baker, 638 York, Hatboro, PA 19040.

**ST. JOHN, V.I.**—Unique hilltop house, views, privacy, pvt. beaches, nat'l park, watersports, sleeps 4-6 venturesome. Off-season rates. KOUMANS, 33 Valley Rd., Arlington, MA 02174.

## TRAVEL

**MOUNTAIN HOT-SPRINGS HOTEL** in private valley: sunshine, swimming, massage, rest. Room & meals from $25 daily. Brochure: Apdo 1-1187, Guadalajara, Mexico.

**SUN AND FUN IN SAN JUAN**

Pvt. house, 5 min. walk to beach, Cont. bkft. $15 single, $22 double, now-Oct. THE BACK PORCH, 147 Calle Delbray, Santurce, PR 00911, (809) 722-6975.

**CUBA: FAMILY TOUR.** $925. from Miami. Guide: bilingual author. Aug. 17-31. c/o Cuba Resource Group, PO Box 7021, Oakland, CA 94601.

## BOOKS

**"Let Me Die Before I Wake":** Read Hemlock's book on self-deliverance for the dying. Membership $15. In 3 months' time you qualify for the book. Price $10. For details send SASE but no money: Hemlock, #101, 2803 Ocean Park Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90405.

**Read** Emanuel Fried's working class plays. THE DODO BIRD (one act) $2.50 (UE NEWS: "Most authentic portrayal of workingmen in the history of the American theatre.") DROP HAMMER (3 acts) $4.50 (LOS ANGELES TIMES: "Odets twenty years later. A workingman's play.") Add $1 postage-handling per order, Labor Arts Books, 1064 Amherst St., Buffalo, NY 14216

**"How to Execute an Agency"** by E. Waterhouse Allen. Wicked, informed satire about Bureaucratic Types you should recognize! Distilled from 50 years' work in human service agencies. 132 pages, 1st ed., ppd. $3.95, BARK-BACK, Box 235, Glenshaw, PA 15116.

**Now available** for $3.50, Marx/Freud Dialogue Revisited. Published by Benjamin Rush Society. Send to: Planetarium Station, Box 300, NY, NY 10024. Articles on Consciousness, Activity & Change, Religion and more.

**THE TIME IS NOW**—limited edition 300 copies, preliminary dogma. Civil Church of Christos, send $3.50 to CCC, PO Box 2064, Key West, FL 33040.

## LITERARY SERVICES

**BOOKS**—Used and rare. FREE search service. Send wants to James Books, Box 521B, Brookline, MA 02147.

**The Nation's Best Crossword Puzzles**

Get Book #4 by sending $3.75 (postpaid) to E.S. Lewis, 62 Fort Street, Fairhaven, MA 02719. Or send $8 for *a set of all four books by Frank Lewis.*

## FOR THE COLLECTOR

**FAMOUS LAST LETTERS**
BY

Joan of Arc, Henry IV, Marie Antoinette, Napoleon and more; one single set of actual letters, reproduced by the Paris Museum in 1935, available for sale. Nation Box 213.

## PUBLICATIONS

**TECHNOCRACY**—TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for one dollar from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

**CULTURGRAMS:** 4-page cultural summaries on over 70 cultures. Send legal-sized, self-addressed, stamped envelope for complimentary Culturgram & publication list. Write BYU/LRC, 245 B-34, Provo, UT 84602.

Read **PHYSICAL FITNESS NEWSLETTER**, Dept. 450, PO 195, Western Springs, IL 60558. $1 Introductory Copy.

**DISARMAMENT** is the most important problem facing humanity today. The quality of life—in fact life itself—hangs in the balance. For a complimentary booklet "Disarmament in Attitude and Action," write World Goodwill, Dept. N, 866 U.N. Plaza, #566, New York, NY 10164.

**WORLD PEACE.** Send for the World Goodwill Newsletter, "Between War and Peace," promoting the idea of peace through the use of good will and right human relations. World Goodwill, Dept. N, 866 U.N. Plaza, #566, New York, NY 10164.

**WRITERS: LONELY?** Discouraged? In THE INKLING writers share inspiration, help. Join us! Sample: $2. THE INKLING/N, PO Box 3767, St. Paul, MN 55165.

**DIABETICS:** Before you choose insulin read Diabetic Self-Care book $6; Diabetic Self-Care Newsletter $8. Book plus newsletter $10.50. Sunbeam Books, 23630 Old Owen Rd., Monroe, WA 98272.

**The Agni Review**
Poetry & Fiction

Poems by Peter Klappert, William Harmon, Michael Benedikt, Jorie Graham, Richard Pevear, Paul Mariani, Mykola Rudenko, George Starbuck, Martha Collins, Jordan Smith, William Logan, Olga Broumas, Debora Greger, Stuart Dischell & more.
Fiction by David Bosworth, Joyce Carol Oates, James Hanley, Robert Taylor Jr., Mary Morris, R.G. Vliet, Askold Melnyczuk, T. Coraghessan Boyle & more.
"Outstanding." *Library Journal*
"Sophisticated forum for both known and unknown contributors." TriQuarterly
A Feature Poet in Every Issue: Agni 10/11 Edward Hirsch & Jane Miller, Agni 12 Martha Collins, Agni 13 Steven Cramer, Agni 14 Jordan Smith, Agni 15 (forthcoming, Fall 1981) Frannie Lindsay.
Send for Agni 14 ($3.00) or Subscribe.
One year $6. Two years $11.
The Agni Review, Dept. N, PO Box 349, Cambridge, MA 02138.

## EVENTS

**Does your organization** have lectures, movies or rallies to announce? The Nation will advertise coming events of Public Interest Organizations at a special discount rate of 60¢/word. See the coupon in this section for deadlines.

**A.M.E.N.D.** American Movement to End Nuclear Destruction will hold benefit art auction Sat., Aug. 1, 5-8 p.m. at LeMans Disco, Montauk Hwy., Southampton, NY. Tickets $10. Drs. Helen Caldicott & Jonathon Fine will speak. Hosted by Cheryl Tiegs and Peter Beard. Music by Tom Paxton. Call 516-324-6236.

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

**RATES:** $.75 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Copy deadline 17 days prior to week of publication. Payment must accompany order.

**Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for two insertions of your ad, and we will print a third insertion free!**

**TO:** *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y. N.Y. 10011

**Enclosed is my check for $____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks**

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

**Payment in U.S. currency**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## QUERIES

**AUTHOR'S QUERY**

For a compendium of erroneous, untrue and just plain stupid statements by experts, we would appreciate hearing of any sources, anecdotes, documents, etc. about inexpert authorities in any field, in any age. Write Nation Box 80.

## RECIPES

**Vegetarian Gourmet Cookbook,** only $4.95. Venture Enterprises, 4400 Sarah #2TN, Burbank, CA 91505.

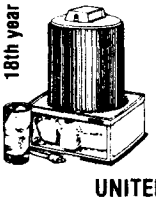
**Grandma's** Delicious Italian Cheesecake Recipe. $1. C. Villa, 2065 First Ave. New York, NY 10029.

**GREAT, SPIRITED PUNCH**—Perfect for all summer celebrations. $1. SASE. Clare: PO Box 22472, San Francisco, CA 94122.

## HEALTH

**INSPIRATIONAL REVIEW.** New concepts for a better, healthier and more prosperous life. Holistic principles. Free information. Sample issue $5. Box 5610-TN, Los Angeles, CA 90055.

## MERCHANDISE


**AQUASPRING®**
WATER PURIFIER DISTILLER
FOR HEALTH MINDED PEOPLE
REMOVES: IMPURITIES
• GERMS • BAD TASTES
SAVE MONEY — BUY DIRECT!
FREE INFO PACK GIVES DETAILS. WRITE:
UNITED VITO-WAY Box 2216, Dept. 4 Everett, WA 98203

**FOUND: The Fabled 200 MPG Carburetor**

It exists and we have it — the original patent (now expired) drawings and description, complete "how-it's-done" secrets, of the legendary Pogue Carburetor! With it a Ford 8 cylinder coupe achieved 205.5 MPG under normal driving conditions, according to DOCUMENTED tests by Ford of Canada, and others. After the news broke, the oil industry reportedly panicked and the carburetor "faded" from public view. Get the facts on the vaporizer-type Pogue, many other super-mileage carburetors. Learn how backyard mechanics now use these secrets to build working units, to modify existing designs, for fantastic fuel savings. If you're mechanically adept, why can't you? Send $1.00 (refundable) for revealing "How-To" Report!

MPG, P.O. BOX 2133, DEPT. TN
Sandusky, OH 44870

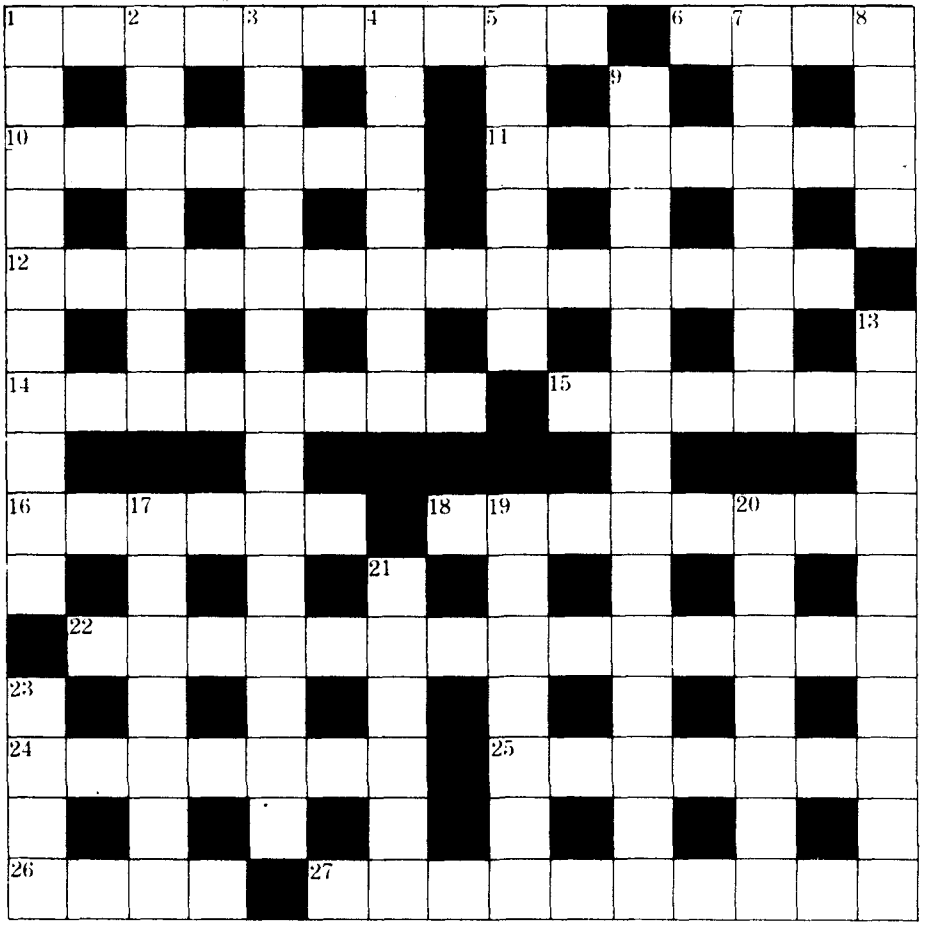

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1876

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | A | S | Y | O | U | L | I | K | E | I | T | | |
| | A | | T | | A | | A | | E | | N | | A | |
| S | T | R | E | A | K | E | D | | T | O | T | E | L | L |
| | T | | A | | L | | Y | | C | | E | | B | |
| D | U | M | M | I | E | S | | T | H | Y | R | O | I | D |
| | N | | B | | A | | I | | U | | | | N | |
| L | E | D | O | F | F | | N | A | P | O | L | E | O | N |
| | | | A | | | | T | | | | O | | | |
| T | H | E | T | R | U | T | H | | S | O | N | N | E | T |
| | E | | | | P | | E | | T | | G | | L | |
| M | E | D | I | A | T | E | | P | E | A | R | L | E | D |
| | L | | R | | R | | D | | T | | A | | Y | |
| M | E | D | I | N | A | | A | B | S | E | N | T | E | E |
| | D | | S | | I | | R | | O | | G | | N | |
| | | T | H | I | N | S | K | I | N | N | E | D | | |

X-523

# Crossword Puzzle No. 1877

**FRANK W. LEWIS**



ACROSS

1 and 6 How father lies! (Shakespearean quotation might be so deep!) (4,6,4)
10 One who has all the tricks (or almost all) in jail, commonly. (7)
11 One might take it to be a 10, so described—it shows subtlety. (7)
12 Commonly very good with those in the den—a Den Mother might do it with excellent Cubs. (5,4,5)
14 Asserted emphatically the little street is inside-outside, in a way. (8)
15 It's on the hot side in two points—that's how the multitude assembles. (6)
16 When part of the work is meted out, that's Fate! (6)
18 Talk about religion, he certainly delivers it! (8)
22 What the safety catch on a gun is good for? (There may be a week for it, but it's good training.) (4,10)
24 Thurber's garden variety is much appreciated. (7)
25 Might be appreciated by the car's passenger, or the French half of the happy pair! (3,4)
26 Exhausts the supply of cigarettes, commonly. (4)
27 Not the star salesman—it's just what a lot of people read. (4,6)

DOWN

1 Perhaps the sole adheres this way, put on the plate. (4,6)
2 They might not work on your feet, possibly. (7)
3 Perhaps found in the closet, proving the basic structure of kinship. (6,8)
4 Name associated with a knotted tie that might play havoc with the furniture. (7)
5 and 23 Not prepared to be like links in the jewelry box. (3,3,4)
7 Rides in style to be part of the coterie. (7)
8 Just smooth, like the early, early night. (4)
9 In the end, we are racing madly for libraries and such because of him! (6,8)
13 Is one an upward-looking person, or a monster in disguise? (10)
17 Transposed signal I make when going by boat. (7)
19 A little runner, perhaps. (7)
20 Antimacassars were intended to take care of any problem caused by it. (4,3)
21 Country author. (6)
23 See 5 down

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# WRITERS IN AMERICA FACE A CRISIS.

Rapidly advancing concentration in the communications industry threatens as never before to exclude and silence serious writers who are out of political or literary fashion. Government support for the arts is being slashed. Attacks on writers — libel suits, book-bannings, censorship — are increasing across the country. If you agree that these threats demand an active response, join The Nation Institute and thousands of other writers at THE AMERICAN WRITERS CONGRESS — ROOSEVELT HOTEL, NEW YORK — OCTOBER 9-12, 1981.

### WHAT WILL THE CONGRESS BE?

A massive gathering of writers of all descriptions: poets, playwrights, novelists, journalists, scholars, critics, and the associations, guilds, and unions that represent them.

### WHAT IS THE GOAL OF THE CONGRESS?

To help American writers deal individually and collectively with bread-and-butter problems, as well as the long-range political and economic trends that threaten the vitality of our written culture.

### WHY A "CONGRESS," NOT MERELY A "CONFERENCE?"

Because at a conference people talk; at a congress, people act.

### WHAT WILL HAPPEN AT THE CONGRESS?

Panels — Workshops — Caucuses — Hearings — Festivities — A plenary session to consider formal resolutions and ways to continue the work of the Congress.

### WHAT ISSUES WILL THE CONGRESS ADDRESS?

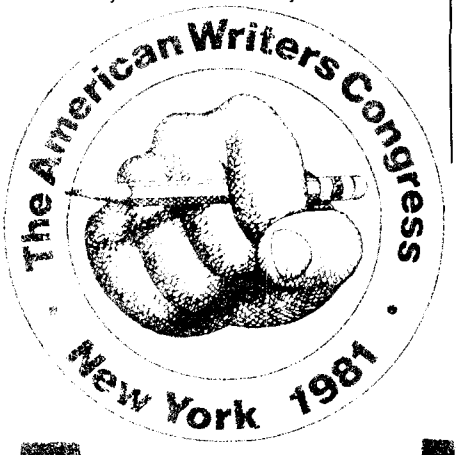
Government funding cutbacks — Assaults on First Amendment rights — Interests of writers and publishers: where they converge, where they conflict — Cooperative publishing and distribution methods — Who gets published/produced, who doesn't — More, more, more.

### WHO WILL COME?

More than 2,000 writers from across the United States. Publishers, editors, other industry representatives, and foreign writers will also be invited.

### THE INVITING COMMITTEE (in formation)

E. L. Doctorow • Doug Ireland • Frances FitzGerald • Kurt Vonnegut • James Merrill • Ed Bullins • Nat Hentoff • John Hersey • Alice Walker • J. Anthony Lukas • John A. Williams • Ishmael Reed • Ring Lardner • Barbara Grizzuti Harrison • Fred Cook • Morris Dickstein • Blair Clark • Studs Terkel • Calvin Trillin • Roger Wilkins • Nancy Milford • Lois Gould • Ellen Willis • Jessica Mitford • Jane Kramer • Evan Connell • Mary Lee Settle • Staige Blackford • Michael Arlen • Donald Barthelme • Penny Lernoux • Alastair Reid • Norman Mailer • Alden Whitman • N. Scott Momaday • Barbara Garson • David Halberstam • Ron Radosh • Alan Wolfe • Alta • Paul Cowan • Katha Pollitt • Lore Dickstein • Jack Newfield • Albert Innaurato • Nora Sayre • Lucinda Franks • Cynthia Arnson • A. W. Singham • Steve Schlesinger • Jane Lazarre • Dan Wakefield • Justin Kaplan • Ann Bernays • R. D. Rosen • Diane McWhorter • Jane Holtz Kay • Ellen Cantarow • Robert Lekachman • Galen Williams • Carol Muske • Ben Sonnenberg • Douglas Day • Robert K. Massie • Marcus Raskin • Frank Snepp • Patricia Bosworth • Leslie Epstein • Peter Stone • Arthur Kopit • Les Brown • Gerald Stern • Herbert Mitgang • Herbert Gutman • Israel Horovitz • Michael Meltsner • Vivian Gornick • David Burnham • Maxine Kumin • Gregory Rabassa • Betty Friedan • Robert Caro • June Jordan • Maria Irene Fornes • Toni Morrison • Peter Schrag • Barton Bernstein • Jeremy Larner • John Oliver Killens • Marge Piercy • Anthony Astrachan • Al Young • Jamake Highwater • Robert Hass • B. K. Moran • Richard Lingeman • Gloria Emerson • Richard Pollak • Marshall Berman • Paul Gaston • Gay Talese • Paul Krassner • R. W. B. Lewis • Kai Erickson • Denise Levertov • Alix Kates Shulman • Barbara Seaman • Gail Sheehy • William Styron • Francine duPlessix Gray • Leon Litwack • Martin Sherwin • Rob Swigart • Lucy Rosenthal • Erica Jong • Robin Morgan • Victor Perera • Grace Paley • Toni Cade Bambara • Wilfrid Sheed • Mordecai Richler • Aryeh Neier • Wallace Stegner • Blanche Wiesen Cook • Thomas B. Morgan • Richard Foreman • James Welch • Rita Mae Brown • Richard Goldstein




# A call to the American Writers Congress

The American Writers Congress is sponsored by The Nation Institute, a non-profit organization associated with The Nation Magazine.

We urge you to respond soon because reserved admission is limited.

For more information, call or write:
The American Writers Congress
G.P.O. Box 1215
New York, N.Y. 10116
212/420-0608

☐ YES, I want to register at the writer's rate of $25 per person (non-writers: $100 per person) for The American Writers Congress, to be held at The Roosevelt Hotel, October 9-12, 1981. I am reserving _____ places now. (Non-reserved admission: $50 for writers; $150 for non-writers.)

☐ I am enclosing an additional $_____ to help offset the cost of The Congress. Contributions are tax-deductible within legal limits. Total amount enclosed $_____

Please make checks or money orders payable to The American Writers Congress. Send to: The American Writers Congress, G.P.O. Box 1215, New York, N.Y. 10116.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

For information call: 212/420-0608

☐ Please send me room rate information for The Roosevelt Hotel.

N2

LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED